Third class

March On Washington, April 24th

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Bread, Peace, and Land

CSU's community voice

Vol. 1, No. 5 April, 1971

Code Reams CSU Students

The "new and revised Student Conduct and Discipline Code," proposed by the Student Affairs Committee, goes before the Faculty Council on Wednesday, April 7. This draft is a repressive code aimed at students, all students. A teach-in and demonstration has been called for by the Emergency Coalition to Defend Student Rights. The teach-in will take place on Tuesday, April 6, beginning at 11:00 a.m. The demonstration will occur outside University Hall on April 7, at 3:00.

Near the end of Winter quarter, on March 8th, the Student Affairs Committee of CSU held the first student hearing on the revised draft of the Student Bill of Rights and Responsibilities. The Student Affairs Committee (SAC) gave notice of the hearing exactly three days prior. This gave students little or no time to evaluate the draft --an omen of what was to come.

At the sparsely attended hearing on Monday, March 8th, it was brought to the attention of SAC that there was a lack of due notice of the hearing which made it impossible for concerned students and student groups to prepare any defined opposition or praise for the draft. The Committee showed its understanding towards this student complaint by calling for another hearing on the draft. This time the hearing was set by SAC for Thursday, March 18th. Two points were immediately shouted: 1) March 18th would give students only ten days and they would need more time for an adequate preparation, and 2) March 18th falls in the middle of finals week at CSU. During finals week there are very few students who have available time to prepare and attend a student hearing. SAC took all this into consideration but still insisted that March 18th was the only day available, assuring SAC of another small turnout.

What is the revised draft of the Student Bill of Rights and Responsibilities? This draft is an amendment that deletes the entire body of the section designated "IV. Student Discipline," of the Student Bill of Rights, and substitutes a new code for section IV. This new section is entitled "IV. Student Conduct and Discipline," although a more appropriate title would be "IV. Student Control." It has been asked, "Exactly why this new code?" The answer given to students by SAC headquarters (i.e., Mrs. Barbara Green, chairman of SAC) is that the Student Affairs Committee was delegated by the Faculty Council last spring to investigate and determine whether or not the then present student conduct code was capable of suppressing campus disorder. Obviously SAC did not believe the old code had the ability to maintain order on campus. What SAC has done with their revised code is make it possible for the University, specifically the president of the University, to supress political activity that he or they feel may disrupt the order and normalcy of the University. It also enables the president or the new University Judiciary, to discipline and suspend students faster than a speeding bullet.

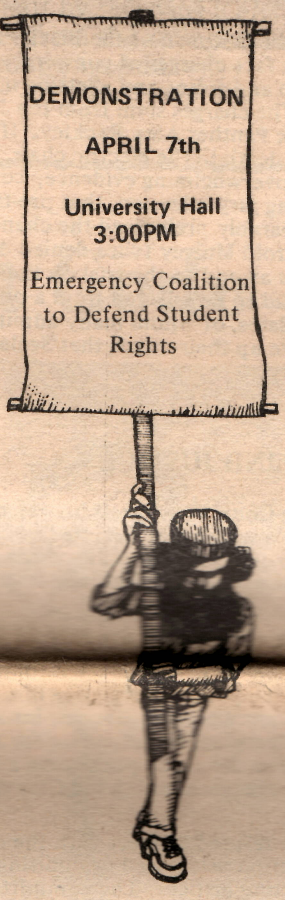
A few specifics are in order:

SAC does not believe that the inherent power of the University is education but "the inherent power of the University (is) to maintain order and to formulate and enforce reasonable[sic] rules of student conduct." (Sec. IV.A2.)

The new code replaces the Student Judiciary, (composed of six elected students), with a University Judiciary composed of seven elected students and two faculty members appointed by the Committee of Faculty Council. The strength of two *appointed* faculty members must be emphasized as a very dominating factor on any student committee.

The new code, composed by SAC, enables the president of the University to deny students the right of assembly guaranteed to us in the First and Fourteenth Amendments. Section IV. C.2e. states that "Continued occupation of a University facility after being ordered to leave by the president..." is prohibited. It in no way protects the legal right of assembly by students on campus. It is simply at the president's discretion to order a legal or illegal assembly to disband.

Continued on page 3



DEMONSTRATION

APRIL 7th

University Hall
3:00PM

Emergency Coalition
to Defend Student
Rights

Stop the War

A massive march protesting the war in Indo-China and demanding immediate withdrawal of all American troops is planned in Washington on April 24. Sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), the march is expected to be one of the largest anti-war demonstrations in history.

A huge outpouring of the American people is necessary to prevent President Nixon from expanding and intensifying the war, which he may attempt in order to mask the recent defeat of the U.S. supported invasion of Laos and to reach his goal of military victory in Indochina.

Because of an apparent lull in the anti-war movement, Nixon felt it was safe to invade Laos. Unless there is renewed protest this spring, Nixon may feel that it is safe to invade North Vietnam or even to use tactical nuclear weapons.

It appears likely that President Nixon will soon attempt to counteract the planned demonstration by publicly declaring the Laos invasion a great success and thereby allowing a few more U.S. troops to be withdrawn. But the American people can no longer be deceived by Nixon's outright lies and phony promises about "winding down the war."

The Cleveland Area Peace Action Council has chartered buses for the March on Washington April 24. Round trip tickets are $20 for adults and $15 for students and may be purchased from the Peace Center at 2102 Euclid, across from CSU, or from the Student Mobilization Committee on campus.

Buses will leave from the lagoon by the Art Museum at 11 p.m. on Friday, April 23, following a send-off rally at 8 p.m., and will return to Cleveland Saturday night.

Phone 621-6516 for further information.

Since Nixon took office more than 17,000 Americans have died in the war --this represents nearly one-third of the more than 53,000 who have been killed in this senseless war. These facts together with Nixon's invasion of Laos and Cambodia clearly indicate that Nixon is not winding down the war, but rather he is escalating and extending it.

Thousands of people representing the majority of Americans who oppose the war will demonstrate in Washington and also in San Francisco on April 24. The demonstration has been endorsed by many labor leaders, as well as by traditional peace groups. It has also been endorsed by several members of Congress, including Indiana Senator Vance Hartke, who has introduced a Senate resolution calling for immediate withdrawal of all American forces from Vietnam.

Continued on page 7

Third class

WORLD SCENE

BOBBY SEALE TRIAL BEGINS

Marking the beginning of the trial of Black Panthers Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in New Haven, Conn., over 1200 people demonstrated March 13 in New Haven to protest the trial. The "Free Bobby and Ericka" rally began in the New Haven black community and proceeded along a mile-long route to the New Haven superior court building where the trial is being held. David Dellinger spoke at a rally opposite the courthouse, and then the demonstrators marched around the courthouse for several hours.

After four months of an exhausting effort to find an unprejudiced jury, the jury selection was completed March 11 with the seating of two alternate jurors in addition to the 12 regular jurors already chosen. Seven whites and five blacks make up the regular jury. From the time jury selection began Nov. 17, until it ended last week, 1550 prospective jurors were called. Most of them were excused when they admitted being prejudiced towards the defendants.

Seale, national chairman of the Black Panther Party, and Huggins face charges of conspiracy to murder and kidnap and aiding and abetting murder and kidnapping. The charges stem from the 1969 death of New York Panther Alex Rackley. If convicted, Seale faces death in the electric chair.

Despite the overwhelming evidence, consistently reaffirmed during jury selection, that pre-trial publicity had irreparably prejudiced the chances of a fair trial, judge Harold Mulvey twice denied defense motions calling for an end to the trial on these grounds. Jurors had to be selected from a pool of prospective candidates, of whom many admitted that they had made up their minds that Seale and Huggins were guilty.

BLIND JUSTICE

Cleveland—The Court of Appeals has rejected an appeal of 21 people who were convicted of contempt of court for protesting police brutality during the July, 1968 disturbances in the Glenville section of Cleveland.

The defendants, members of the July 23 Defense Committee, had attempted to present the county prosecutor with a bill of particulars describing the violent actions of the police and to urge him to investigate and take action against policemen involved. They also were attempting to get justice for Ahmed Evans who was given the death penalty on a frameup charge of killing policemen during the Glenville disorders.

The prosecutor refused to meet with the committee and a court injunction was issued prohibiting the people from "obstructing justice." The committee was barred from entering the courthouse and was immediately arrested and charged with contempt of court for allegedly breaking the injunction.

Presiding at their trial was Judge McMonagle, the same judge who had previously conducted the racist trial which sentenced Ahmed Evans to death. He gave out harsh sentences to the protesters—including one year and $1000 fine to Mae Mallory—evidently in an attempt to stop the mobilization of support for Ahmed Evans.

Funds are needed for further appeals and may be sent to Cleveland Political Defense Committee, Box 2576, E. Cleveland, 44112.

Rumor has it that Sheldon Hirsch, Associate Chief Enforcer of Bread, Peace, and Land, is sending a slew of super snoops to Washington on April 24th. These sly sleuths, in numbers sufficient to honeycomb each nook and cranny of the demonstration, will record who among our friends are there and shouting, and who are the slothful slouches who stayed home.

To each and every one of these lazy laggards, fiendish Sheldon will himself administer the most demonic torture yet conceived: he will require these stay-at-home shirkers to sit through an a cappella recital of poems, limericks, paeans, and love songs of Mr. A. Vivaldi.

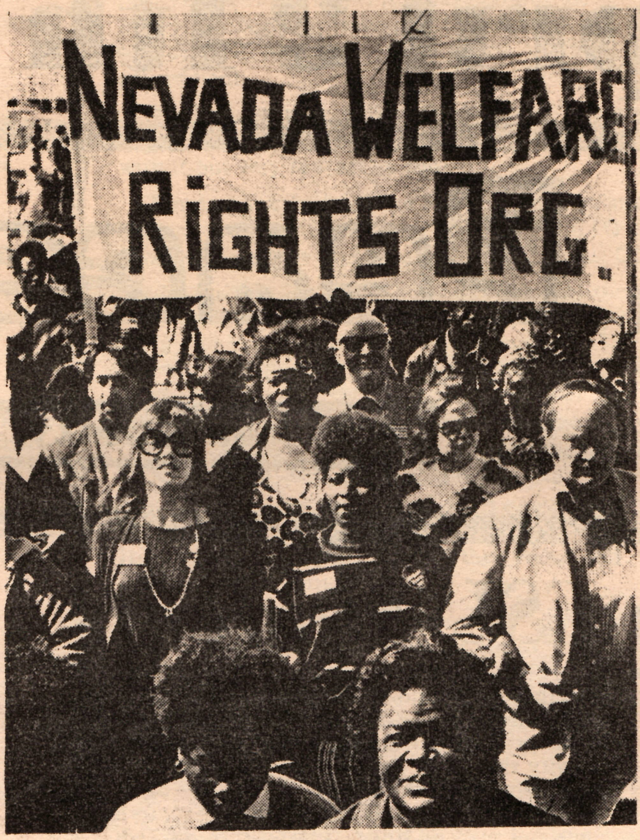
To those salubrious shouting souls among our friends who are seen in Washington, Sheldon promises to send—in return, of course, for a modest donation to BPL—a souvenir selection of his favorite slogans and chants, bound in red leather.

To those who donate more than a modest amount to us, Sheldon will send a hand-painted placard, signed by the artist and in limited edition.

GO TO WASHINGTON!

GO PREPARED WITH THE SHELDON HIRSCH HANDBOOK OF SELECTED SLOGANS AND SHOUTS!

GO PREPARED WITH A HAND-DECORATED PLACARD, ATTACHED TO A DELICATELY CARVED KNOBKERRY!


NEVADA WELFARE RIGHTS ORG.

NWRO Protests Welfare cuts.

NWRO 'SIN CITY' RALLY

Gambling stopped along the Las Vegas strip as 1,500 blacks and whites, primarily from Nevada, rallied and then marched through famed Caesar's Palace March 6. Over 1,000 others joined the protest on the sidewalk.

"Business will not continue as usual in Las Vegas until welfare mothers—black, white, brown, yellow, and red—have been placed back on the rolls and state welfare director George Miller is gone," a spokesman for the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) said.

Last January the state summarily removed 2,700 people from its welfare rolls in an "economy move," allowing no appeals.

The march was led by Dr. George Wiley, executive director of NWRO; Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Chicago Eight defendant David Dellinger; actress Jane Fonda; and David Ifshin, president of the National Student Association.

Dellinger called the demonstration a "struggle of people against profits" and predicted "the forces of evil cannot stand against the united front of righteousness."

Ruby Duncan, the local Welfare Rights Organization president, told the crowd: "I'm sick of hearing about lazy welfare recipients. How can you get a job? Where? From whom? Why can't welfare recipients stay home and take care of their babies like the middle class does? Slide over brother and give these welfare recipients your jobs."

"Those who profit from poverty, racism, sexism, and warfare are one," Jane Fonda said. She called Las Veagas "a microcosm of the national picture," and referred to it as "a glittering, glamorous strip and a walled-in black ghetto." The actress turned activist lambasted the U.S. for a "self-righteous, racist attitude, spreading corruption and devastation in all countries where we are spreading our imperialistic fingers."

NWRO leader Wiley served notice on Howard Hughes, who has contolling interest in the city's gambling emporiums, and the "gambling barons" that the Welfare Rights Organization will "struggle in Las Vegas until everyone has the right to live."

PRIESTS CONDEMN J. EDGAR

The National Federation of Priests' Councils, meeting in Baltimore, March 17, voted to express solidarity with the Harrisburg 6 and to condemn FBI director J. Edgar Hoover for declaring the six non-violent anti-war activists guilty before they were even indicted. The federation, which represents a majority of Roman Catholic priests in this country, also denounced the U. S. war in Indo-China. The Harrisburg 6 have been charged with plotting to blow up heating systems in government buildings in Washington and to kidnap presidential advisor Henry Kissinger. Meanwhile, Rev. Phillip Berrigan and his five co-defendants have lined up a team of defense attorneys which includes former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and William Kunstler, one of the lawyers in the Chicago conspiracy case.

G-MEN HAVE DIRTY SKIRTS

New evidence showing how the FBI is engaged in intensive surveillance of political dissenters has been revealed following the removal of files from the FBI office in Media, Pa., on March 8.

A statement issued by the Citizen's Commision to Investigate the FBI, who claimed responsibility for taking the files, said the action was taken because "We believe that law and order which depends on intimidation and repression to secure obedience can have but one name, and that name is tyranny."

"Citizens have the right to scrutinize and control their own government and its agencies," the statement added. "We believe the FBI has betrayed its democratic trust and we wish to present evidence for this claim to the open and public judgment of our fellow citizens."

Some of the documents obtained included intelligence reports on college students, indicating close cooperation given to the FBI by both local police forces and university administrations. Others were summaries of various movement meetings, including names, addresses, and phone numbers of people attending.

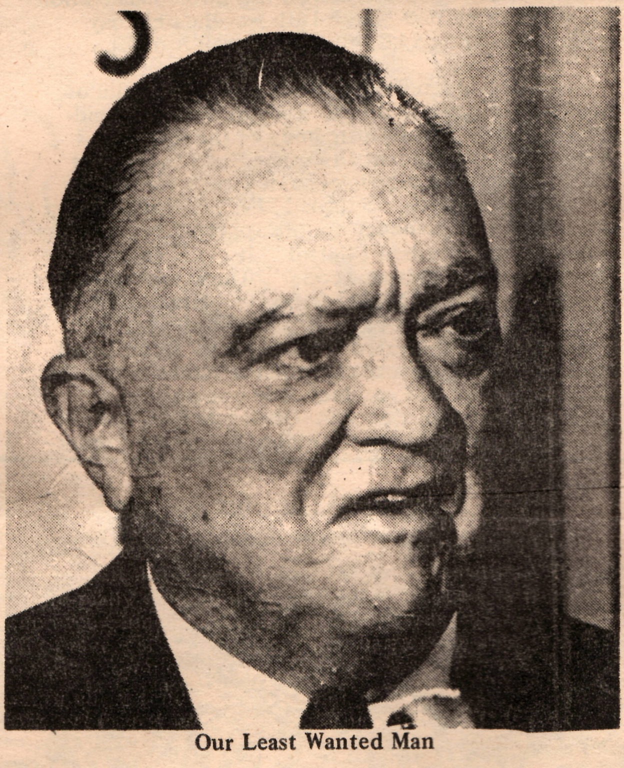
Two items revealed bank officials have released bank account records to the FBI, in violation of federal law.

It was also revealed that an FBI official had urged heavy interviewing of persons identified with the left because "it will enhance the paranoia endemic in these circles and...get the point across [that] there is an FBI agent behind every mailbox."

Another document said that students, teachers, and scientists who have been in the Soviet Union should be investigated. An interesting item which was found in the FBI files was a letter from an Idaho scoutmaster to the Soviet embassy, seeking information about an upcoming Boy Scout trip to the Soviet Union.

One FBI memo reported how a telephone operator at a certain college was used by the FBI to obtain information on a professor considered to be a radical. The operator also agreed to confidentially furnish information on any long distance phone calls made or received by the professor.

Another memo says that black student groups are to be investigated in order to determine "the size, aims, purposes, activities, leadership, key activists, and extremist interest or influence in these groups." The memo indicated that the FBI feels it has the right to keep lists of every black student enrolled at various universities around the country, apparently with the cooperation of the school officials themselves.



Our Least Wanted Man

KENT BLACKS HARASSED

Edwin Blount and Rudy Perry, president and field marshal of the Black United Students of Kent State University, have been jailed on charges of assault stemming from a protest by BUS members at a student senate meeting recently where they demanded more funds for a black cultural program. University officials called police on the campus and had the two students arrested. The arrests were only the most recent incidents of harassment of black students at Kent State. Last fall the BUS office was damaged by a bomb explosion and other members have been threatened with suspension by the University administration.

BUGGERY In CSU Cafeteria

It's been in and out of the minds of the *BP&L* staff members to do an article on the cafeteria food service for some time. The spur that goads me to pick up the pen and push it is an immediate one. I'm sitting here in our beloved cafeteria––the cage of many colored birds, WCSU is zapping Jefferson Airplane (*Don't you want somebody to love, Don't you need somebody to love?)*and a friend of mine had just now uncovered a dead fly in her macaroni and cheese casserole-55 cents CHEAP. According to Mary Achille: "First I thought it was an ash from my cigarette, and then I saw legs." The lady in the chow line replaced the meat garnished dish for a new one, but not without the admonition: "Eat carefully!"

Yes gang, eat carefully, if you dare eat at all. This is no isolated incident. Do you know the little mounds of stuffing with turkey slices draped limply over them? For 85 cents, student Pat Callahan lifted up her turkey slice, only to be greeted by an entire swarm of fruitflies, (this time alive,) who were irritated at the disturbing of their cozy little nest. Needless to say, Pat wasn't exactly overjoyed either: "After I determined that they were a swarm of drosophila, I demanded my 85 cents back. They refused but offered me another serving of turkey-and-fruitflies. I declined."

The testimony goes on and on:
Bob Ciofani: "It's fine (cafeteria food) if you don't eat it."

Jeff Hirsch: "Food is great. However, at Cleveland State, an exception can be found. Canned leftovers is not the incoming thing."

Maryann Archer: "Ugh!"

Tom Carlson: "I think it'd be all right if they got rid of the gnats, grease and fruitflies."

Rick Finkelstein: "It makes me fanbelt."

An anonymous member of the faculty: "There's no great variety of food. The quality is sub-standard."

George Hanna: "I have an ulcer. The milk is pretty good."

Bill Bodnar: "I never eat here. It's not worth it."

Denny Knapik: "I bring my lunch. It's cheaper."

George Columbo: "The prices are too high. 69 cents for a sandwich!"

John Zatroch: " The cafeteria, just like the school, is irrelevant."

LeRoy Schwartz: "Scummy, shitty."

Linda Kapral: "I don't eat here. I bring my own lunch. It's cheaper."

Don Decker: "The food is overpriced. We just don't eat here. Too many people use the cafeteria for a meeting hall. I'm one of them. There's just no place else to go. The tables are dirty. There's books piled everywhere. You can never find a chair."

Of the more than 50 students polled, only one gave anything even faintly resembling a positive comment. Said Ron Angie: "I don't think it's that bad. Fair."

Constantine Nawalaniec, Ida LaPenta and Joanie Amata contributed a group quote: "We don't eat here. Even Rhoton's is better. Filthy. Messy. Overpriced. We're with the CSU Players (the acting company), and when we went to Washington to do *The Birds*, we ate in the cafeteria of Washington University. They had better food, no crowds. It was clean. They're a commuter college too, but they have more places for students to hang out between classes. They have a Cafeteria Complaint Committee; somewhere the students can go with their grievances. And if something is wrong, it gets taken care of. What could get done here? What could ever get done here?"

I don't know the answer. I guess, as long as students take it lying down, nothing will get done here. If the Ralph Nader bug ever bites them, and they stand up and demand their rights as consumers, students and human beings, the cafeteria, and all the other glaring deficiencies of our University, might begin to show some signs of improvement. Until that time, hunger and thirst for knowledge's sake. That's about all the sustenance available at CSU.

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editorial

Governor Gilligan apparently feels that higher education has no benefits for society as a whole, and therefore has decided that the costs must be borne entirely by the students.

If Gilligan's recently announced "Ohio Plan" is enacted, virtually all costs of college education would be eventually paid by the students. The state subsidy of about $1200 per year would be repaid after graduation in annual payments of $50 to $1000. This would be *in addition* to already high tuition fees which Gilligan would *increase* to $750 a year.

This would make attending state schools as expensive as private schools and would make college education a luxury only the rich could afford, giving poor people no hope of escaping from the cycle of poverty. Instead, students from low and middle income families would only be able to attend community colleges and technical institutes where they would be prepared for lower paying jobs.

We feel that every student has a right to as much education as he is capable of and that the state has a duty to provide this. A college education is becoming a vital necessity in today's society and should be available to everyone, not just the rich.

State support of higher education is among the lowest in the nation (Ohio ranked 46th on a per capita basis, according to a recent survey). At the same time tuition fees at Ohio state universities are among the highest. This is a disgraceful situation for a state as wealthy as Ohio.

We believe that more money must be spent to provide Ohio residents with high quality higher education, but a larger share of the costs should be paid by the state. In particular, we suggest higher taxes on corporations who directly benefit by receiving a highly skilled work force from the colleges, without paying their training expenses.

Student Conduct Code

Continued from page 1

The new discipline code gives an enormous amount of power to the president. The president shall appoint the University Student Conduct Officer who shall examine all charges filed against a student and determine whether or not there is sufficient evidence to warrant any further proceeding; (Sec. E. 2&3.). The code also allows the president to suspend a student charged by the University Conduct Officer if the president feels exceptional circumstances exist, (Sec. IV.E6.). Further, during a hearing, "the University Judiciary shall be advised by an attorney designated to serve it by appointment of the president," (Sec.IV. E.6), and "in contested proceedings, evidence against a student shall be presented by a person designated by the president," (Sec.IV.E.9). Indirectly, (in rather a direct manner), the president of the University is the prosecutor and jury to the accused. Of course the accused can always appeal his case if convicted. "The accused may appeal the decision of the University Judiciary to the president of the University, who may, at his discretion, hear oral arguments on the appeal." As expected, SAC has not only given the first word to the president, but also the president has the last word.

The second student hearing held on March 18th, was attended by students as well as could have been expected during a final's week. Many students voiced their opposition to the new draft and their dissatisfaction with the work of the Student Affairs Committee.

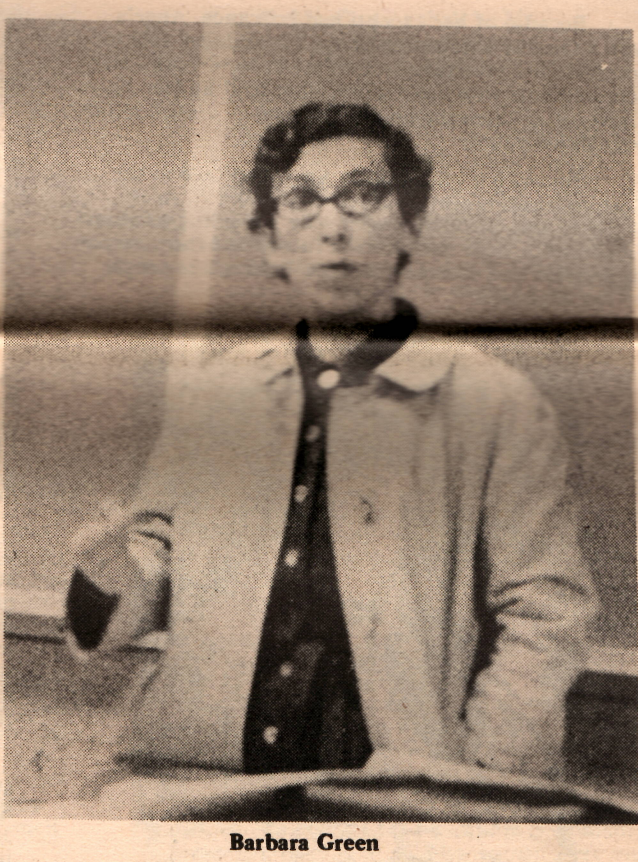
One major point brought up by many students was the fact that the Student Affairs Committee has completely failed in their attempt in forming a new conduct code. Many students have been doing some work on the code for the hearings. Their interest in the code has been initiated and they have expressed their willingness to continue working on the code. It was suggested that the job of revising a new code be transferred from the Student Affairs Committee, (who have shown their inability to the students), to an assigned group of volunteer students who would be requisitioned the proper materials and facilities to write a code they could be proud of. A number of law students have spoken out in favor of initiating a seminar dealing with the writing of a student conduct and discipline code.

Immediately following the hearing, SAC held a closed meeting. Soon after this closed meeting SAC members assured students that a new draft was going to be composed by the Committee.

On the following Monday a group of students met and formed the Emergency Coalition to Defend Student Rights. A sample of those organizing the Coalition are Kevin Cramer for the Student Mobilization Committee, J.R. Williams for the CSU Conservative Union, Patricia Callahan managing editor, CSU *Cauldron*, and L.D. Pellegrini for *Bread, Peace, and Land*. Those of the coalition have two things in common; their dissatisfaction with the original revised draft by SAC, and their common feeling that SAC is not capable of writing a student code.

The Coalition called for a meeting on the following Thursday, one week before the Faculty Council meeting, April 7th.

Meanwhile, back at headquarters, SAC was working its ass-off on finishing a "new" code to present to Faculty Council. It seems that the Committee believes they shall all be hanged if they do not have a draft ready to present to Faculty Council by April 7th. By March 29th, the "new revised" code was completed and unanimously passed by SAC. Upon learning of its completion members of the Emergency Coalition approached Mrs. Green asking for a copy of the new draft in order that they may prepare a discussion for their meeting that Thursday. She refused to give students a copy of the revised code. Mrs. Green refused to cooperate in any way with the students. In talking with Mrs. Green it was learned exactly what this draft means to the Committee. "If the draft submitted by the Student Affairs Committee is voted down by the Faculty Council, I shall resign from the Committee." By saying this it also becomes evident exactly who is the instrumental committee member in drawing the draft.



Barbara Green

Asked about what she thought of the negative response towards the draft at the hearing, Mrs. Green has stated that, "I do not have to listen to a group of self-appointed elitists."

The Emergency Coalition met on Thursday, April 1st, and about 50 students attended. A copy of the new draft had been obtained through channels outside the Committee. The new draft was read to those present. It was found that a few good changes had been made. Instead of the original five students on the University Judiciary there is now seven. There has also been a few word changes and additions for clarification, but the degree of vagueness of the draft is still high.

Overall, the new draft has no major changes. The draft is still a code for student repression. The president still maintains his power during and after the hearing. In no way is the "new" code a response to the student hearings.

Free Angela

Clarence Darrow, who was the Charles Garry and Bill Kunstler of our grandparents' generation, made the following observation about conspiracy charges back in 1895:

"Conspiracy, from the days of tyranny in England to the day of the General Managers Association, had always been the favorite weapon of every tyrant. It is an effort to punish the crime of thought."

Yet, it is precisely upon conspiracy charges that Angela Davis is being brought to trial. Supposedly she had conspired in connection with the August 7th shoot-out in San Rafael, California, but as any one familiar with the case and with Angela knows, the real reason Angela was harrassed throughout her tenure on the UCLA faculty and then hunted-down and imprisoned is for the crimes of thought and exercise of free speech: thought and free speech in vigorous support of the struggle of black people for their liberation, in support of political prisoners, like the Soledad Brothers, and in support of her own Marxist philosophy.

Angela has this to say about her case:

"I have been charged with murder, kidnapping and conspiracy...In reality, the charge is that of organizing and agitating among black people in order to strengthen our revolutionary movement to end exploitation and racism."

Angela Davis was born 27 years ago in Birmingham, Alabama...The same Birmingham whose Police Chief was the notorious Bull Connor and the same Birmingham in which four black children were murdered in church in 1963. It is ironic that the racist perpetrators of this crime go scot free while Angela Davis, who knew the victims and their families, stands trial for her life.

Because of her exceptional brilliance, Angela won a Quaker scholarship at age 15, and was able to complete her secondary schooling in New York. Her achievements won her a scholarship to Brandeis University, where she graduated *magna cum laude* in French literature.

During her junior year, Angela studied at the Sorbonne in France, where she got to know many Algerian revolutionaries who were struggling to obtain freedom for their nation. She recognised the common oppression and common struggle linking her people to the Algerians.

Upon returning to Brandeis, Angela began studying philosophy under Professor Herbert Marcuse and decided to pursue graduate work in this area. She was awarded a fellowship at Goethe University in Frankfort, West Germany, and soon after her arrival there became active in the German SDS, the left-wing student group in Germany that was headed by Rudi Deutschke. She helped to organize rallies against the Vietnam War and the recrudescence of militarism in in West Germany.

After two years of study in West Germany, she decided to return to the U.S., both to continue her studies under Professor Marcuse (who was now at the Univ. of California at San Diego) and to participate in the black liberation movement. She wrote her doctoral theses under Marcuse on the topic of Kant's concept of freedom and its relation to the black liberation struggle. She joined the Che-Lumumba Club, a youth organization in Los Angeles that was affiliated with the Communist Party.

In the fall of 1969, Angela was offered a teaching position at UCLA, which she accepted. Almost immediately an FBI stool-pidgeon fingered her out as a communist, to which she replied: "Yes, I am a communist and I will not take the fifth ammendment against self-incrimination, because my beliefs do not incriminate me, they incriminate the Nixons, Agnews and Reagans."

Reagan and his Board of Regents tried to fire Angela because of her beliefs, but her students and colleagues stood firmly, and the risks seemed too great for Reagan to resort to such blatant McCarthyism. Her courses were well-received and her scholarship brought her offers from prestigious ivy-league schools.

Having a revolutionary black person--and a woman, no less--teaching at UCLA irritated to no end the far-right in Los Angeles. Soon, there began the nightmare of death threats and attempts upon Angela's life.

At the end of her first year, the Regents finally fired Angela Davis. But even though school was out, a massive defense campaign was built up in the school as well as in the community. The reasons for Angela's dismissal were her extra-curricular activities in support of the Soledad Brothers defense and the Black Panthers; these were not deemed to be in the interest of those who controlled the regents of the university.

In an effort to blunt the attack against them, the government searched about desperately to find more stuff to throw at Angela to help make their flimsy case stick. Thus, when the August 7th shootout occured, it was immediately siezed upon in order to justify not only the taking away from Angela of her job, but her life as well.

To understand the events at San Rafael, it is necessary to know something about the case of the Soledad Brothers.

Soledad prison--which is located in Salinas County, the scene of many bitter struggles between the agricultural workers and the union busting vigilantes and marshalls--is notorious among prisons for the conditions which prevail against black prisoners. Eve Pell, in an essay in the August 1970 *Ramparts*, describes the sort of mistreatment that the balck prisoners suffer at the hands of the guards.

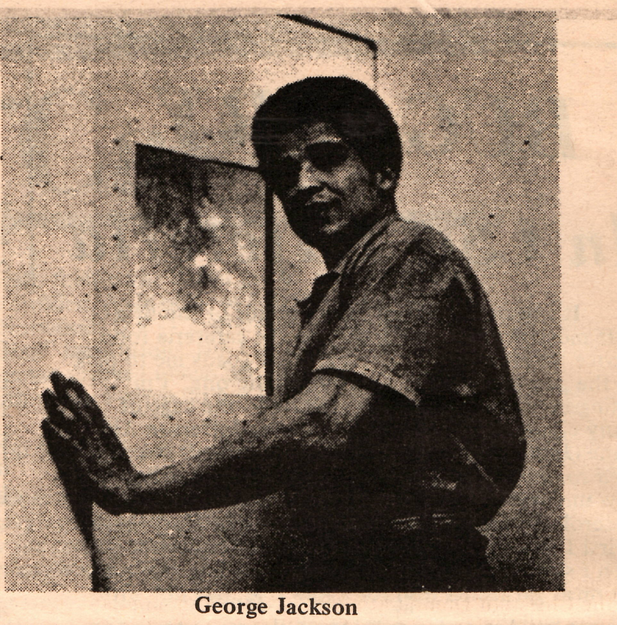
An altercation between black and white prisoners, which Pell suggests may have been engineered by guards, culminated in the shooting to death of three black prisoners on January 13, 1970. The scuffle was not a serious one, and no one's life appeared threatened. The mortal shots were fired without warning by guard O. G. Miller. He was quickly whitewashed by a grand jury hearing at which no blacks were allowed to testify.

This obviously served to fuel the anger of black prisoners and three days later a guard was found dying. Prison officials seemed hell-bent to pin the rap on politically active black prisoners and selected three: Fleeta Frumgo, John Cluchette, and George Jackson, who has written a very important book: *Soledad Brother.*

Because of its weak case against them, the State of California did not permit these three men to have attorneys present when they were being questioned, nor were their families informed. When one of the defendants (Cluchette) was finally able to see his mother, he gave her a list of potential witnesses; this list was confiscated by guards and the men whose name appeared were quickly transferred to other prisons.

Angela, along with many others, was outraged at these proceedings and became active in the defense. She became especially concerned since Jonathan Jackson, brother of George, had been one of her bodyguards after threats were made on her life.

On August 7th, during a trial at San Rafael of a James McLain, Ruchell Magee and another prisoner at Soledad were testifying in McLain's behalf. Jackson entered the courtroom, and as Magee puts it: "While I was testifying,....up rose a young gentleman, whom I later learned was 17 year old Jonathan Jackson."



George Jackson

Jackson tossed guns to McLain, Magee and the other defense witness and ordered the judge, D.A. and two jurors to leave with them as hostages, in order to secure the release of the Soledad Brothers. According to Magee, he had no indication whatsoever that Jackson planned any harm.

The court guards opened fire first on the four men, and the D.A. claims he wrested a gun away from one of the four and killed three of them. There is no evidence linking Magee with the killing of the judge, the other person killed.

The state claims that the guns which killed the judge were purchased by Angela Davis...some months before the event and before she could have known anything at all about this case. The state has no evidence--nor is there any--that she bought these guns for any other prupose than safeguarding her own life.

Magee is Angela's co-defendant. He did not know Jackson or Miss Davis. From the start in this case, he insisted on his right of self-counsel. Initially, the court refused him this right, and proceeded to assign to his defense a well-known local racist, Leonard Bjorklund, as counsel. After repeated complaints by Magee, and after Magee reported to the court that Bjorklund offered him a bribe to turn state's evidence against Davis, Bjorklund was withdrawn. Magee still insists on this right of self-counsel.

A recent development during the pre-trial hearings, Magee challenged the propriety of the Judge, John McMurray, to hear this case. After some deliberation, McMurray acknowledged his prejudice and withdrew. Unfortunately, he did not allow his prejudice to deter him from ruling negatively on a motion by Davis' lawyers to move the hearings to a larger court room, so that supporters of the defendants would be allowed to sit in on the hearings. Magee is now insisting upon federal, rather than state, jurisdiction in this trial.

After the San Rafael incident last summer, Angela fled California. Many people ask why she did this. In the January 1st issue of *Muhammed Speaks,* she answers this question: "Let me ask a question. When a slave, who managed to escape from the whips and wheels of a white slave master fled to another state, was this evidence of guilt?"

In a letter to Angela, her doctoral advisor Professor Marcuse writes: "People ask me again and again to explain how you, a highly intelligent, sensitive young woman, an excellent student and teacher, how you became involved in the violent events at San Rafael. I do not know whether you were involved at all in these tragic events, but I do know that you were deeply involved in the fight for black people, for the oppressed everywhere, and that you could not limit your work for them to the classroom and to writing.

......you fought for us, too, who need freedom and who want freedom for all who are still unfree. In this sense, your cause is our cause."

CLEVELAND 2 - Political Prisoners

On September 29,1970 Darryl Harris and Essex Smith were arrested and charged with rape, abduction armed robbery, and shooting with intent to kill. They are each being held for ransom in lieu of $50,000 bail.

Although Harris and Smith have witnesses to attest to their whereabouts at the time of the incident involving two CSU students, the charges still stand. The alleged victims of the assault could make no identification of these men until the sixth lineup and much pressure from the police and prosecution. In fact both men were finally dressed in clothes, hat and sunglasses that fit the description of the assailants before being identified.

These men are innocent! They were arrested not for crime, but for being dedicated community workers of the National Committee to Combat Fascism. They were locked up for providing survival programs such as Free breakfasts for children and Free medical care to the black community. The arrests of these men were part of a pattern of vicious repression by the Cleveland Police Department; from June 29 to September 29 over 25 members of the NCCF were arrested and charged with over forty felonies. In fact, only one week prior to September 29, Essex Smith had been charged with inciting a riot along with NCCF Chairman Tommy Carr.

Bail was set initially at $100,000 each and then lowered to $50,000. This amounts to sentencing them to jail at the same time they are presumed innocent. East Cleveland Congregational Church members voted to allow use of church property (valued at $250,000) for bail purposes. The Clerk of Courts acting on the advice of the County Prosecutor and judges refused to accept the church property as security. Now, six months after arrest and imprisonment the judicial system is preparing to railroad Darryl and Essex into the Ohio Pen.

The Cleveland Political Defense Committee urges that we all demand that Essex and Darryl be set free! Money is urgently needed for attorney's fees and court costs. Mail contributions to:

Cleveland Political Defense Committee
P.O. Box 2576 East Cleveland, Ohio

For further information, contact the NCCF office at 79th and Central, or call the Cleveland Political Defense Committee at 761-7668.

Chile: Wind from the South

The revolutionary process happening now in Chile will probably come to be seen as one of the pivotal events of the 1970's. It's vital that we as North Americans come to an understanding of what is happening there. U.S. business, military and political leaders follow the news from Chile with rapt attention, but it is important that ordinary citizens of America have an opinion, as well. Afterall the U.S. elite's reaction to the new socialist government in Cuba almost a decade ago almost brought on World War Three.

In November 1970 a popular front government (*Unidad Popular*-UP) under the leadership of socialist Salvador Allende Gossens was elected to office in Chile on a program which was much more radical than any program on which a Western socialist party or popular front had ever run, let alone won, in the past. The UP is a coalition of three parties (the Communist party, the Socialist party, and the Radical party) and three movements (MAPU-Unified People's Action Party- a leftist offshoot of the Christian Democratic Party; API - Independent People's Action- and the Social Democrats, both micro-organizations of the left center.) The UP ran in the 1958 and 1964 presidential elections, losing narrowly each time, but this time it won an historic victory which reverberated around the world, particularly in countries such as Italy where the left thinks it has a chance to bring in socialism by electoral means.

Unique Chile

Chile is a country which is unique in many ways. It runs for 2500 miles along the Pacific coast of the South American continent, rarely reaching a width of 200 miles. Its population of 10,000,000 is about that of Ohio, while it is nearly seven times larger in area than Ohio. In the north lies the bone-dry Atacama desert, rich with nitrates and copper; the middle valley; the southern third of Chile which reaches to within 1000 miles of the Antartic Circle is a maze of fjords, archipelagos and islands. Chile is regularly seized by massive earthquakes which jumble its geography all the more. Along the eastern border with Argentina stretches the Andes Cordillera, with some of the highest mountains in the world.

Chile was liberated from Spanish colonial rule in 1818 by the Argentine revolutionary leader, Jose de San Martin. Most (90%) of Chileans are Catholics. 68% of the population is mestizo (mixture of Indian and European blook); 2% are full-blooded Indians; and 30% are of European stock. 70% of Chile's people live in cities and towns. The Gross National Product is $6 billion. (By comparison, the U.S.A.'s G.N.P. is around $900 billion.) Although Chile is prosperous by Latin American standards, poverty on a scale unthinkable in North America is all-pervasive in Chile. The average salaried employee gets about $55 a month. Peasants and workers, of course, get much, much less.

Despite this, Chile, along with Brazil and Argentina, is one of the key countries of South America, and the U.S. Government is well aware of this. The United States and Western European countries have immense interests in Chile. U.S. corporations have at least $1billion in direct investment there. (Far more than they have invested in Viet-Nam, for instance.) Over One hundred corporations or agencies of U.S. private interests operate in Chile. There are major U.S. investments in electric power and the telephone company, but well over half of the known U.S. investments is concentrated in nitrates, iron, and copper mining.

In addition, many so-called "Chilean" companies are structurally integrated with U.S. corporations in "invisible" ways. The Chilean Cotton Manufacturing company, for example, Chile's largest, is ostensibly under the control of the Chilean Yarur family. In fact, 45% of its stock is U.S.-owned. More to the point even, this "Yarur" corporation in turn owns 49% of Caupolican Textiles (Chile's 24th largest firm), which, on the surface, appears to be without substantial foreign ownership. This is not an isolated instance. The Chilean economy, along with the economies of the rest of Latin America, with the exception of Cuba, of course, is dominated by American economic power. When Latin Americans talk of American Imperialism it is this control of their economic life that they are referring to. Of course, they also fear the U.S. military power which backs up the penetration of American capital into their countries. In a real sense, the basic decisions about South America are made in Washington and Detroit more than in Buenas Aires or Caracas.

Chile has ranked second only to Brazil as recipient of U.S. military grants and delivery of surplus military equipment since 1953, receiving $143 million. Relative to its population, Chile has received far more than any other South American country. Between 1960 and 1965, 2,064 Chilean soldiers were trained in the U.S. and 549 received training in anti-guerilla methods at the U.S. Canal Zone in Panama.

These facts make it clear that the United States has had clear-cut interests in Chile and still does today. The U.S. has a long history of intervening (as it did in the Dominican Republic in 1965) in its South American "satellites" when their policies, whether nationalistic or left-wing, don't suit the American economic or political desires of the moment. Will the same fate befall the present Socialist administration of Chile? Time will tell, but blatant military intervention by the U.S., while not out of the question, is unlikely because of the geographical remoteness of Chile and the deepening disillusionment of the American people with Post-War U.S. "Cold War" interventionism. It is more likely that the Nixon regime is biding its time with Chile, waiting for a moment when the Chilean economy is weakest to apply overwhelming economic and political pressures which could force Allende to moderate (or abandon) his program.

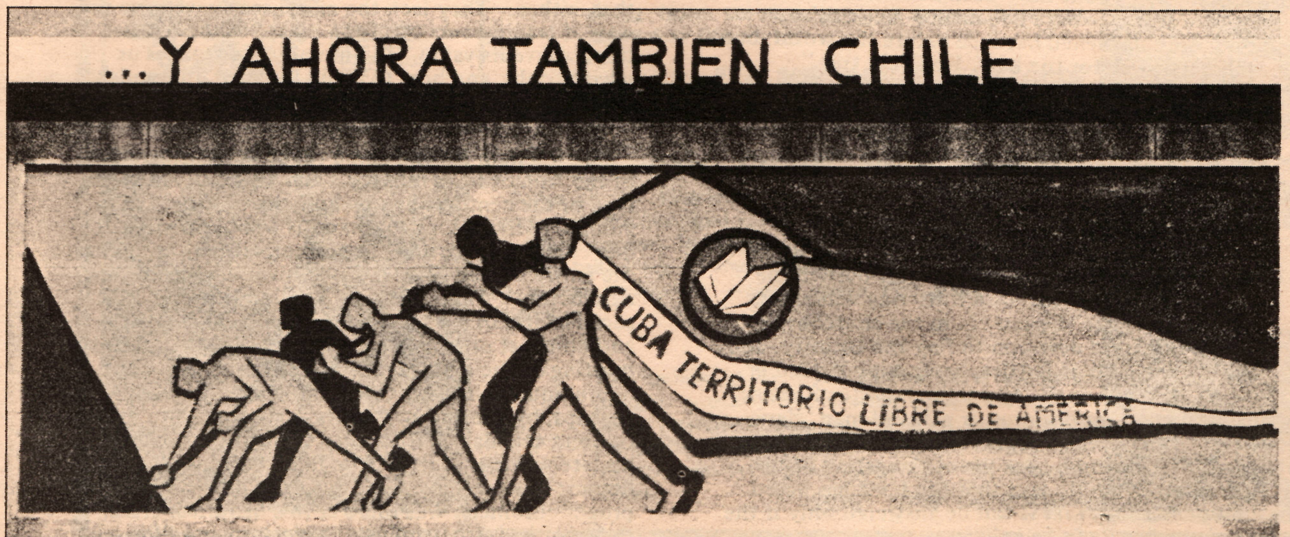
Chile Moves Left

How did this radical challenge to American power in its own hemisphere come about?

Chile is generally regarded as the most stable democracy in Latin American. For a century, a coalition of the propertied classes–landlords and big businessmen–has been able to rule Chile with neither foreign control nor the intervention of the military as an autonomous social force. While there is a healthy cynicism about "politics and politicians", parliamentary democracy has not lost legitimacy.

However, since the middle of the last century, Chile has been the scene of frequent large-scale strikes and popular demonstrations rivaling those in advanced capitalist countries. For the past several decades, Chile has been the only country in South America (Cuba excepted) in which the organized working class has been both politically and socially significant, and also led by Marxian socialists. It is also the only western capitalist country where there

Continued on page 11


...Y AHORA TAMBIEN CHILE
CUBA TERRITORIO LIBRE DE AMERICA

"Cuba: Free Territory of America—and now Chile."

Myth of Macondo ----------Book Review

One Hundred Years of Solitude. By Gabriel Garcia Marquez. Translated by Gregory Rebassa. Harper & Row. 1970. $7.95. p.422. (Editorial Sudamericana, S.A., Buenas Aires, Argentina, 1967.)

"When Jose Arcadio Segundo came to he was lying face up in the darkness. He realized that he was riding on an endless and silent train and that his head was caked with dry blood and that all his bones ached. He felt an intolerable desire to sleep. Prepared to sleep for many hours, safe from the terror and the horror, he made himself comfortable on the side that pained him less, and only then did he discover that he was lying against dead people. There was no free space in the car except for an aisle in the middle. Several hours must have passed since the massacre because the corpses had the same temperature as plaster in autumn and the same consistency of petrified loam that it had, and those who had put them in the car had had time to pile them up in the same way in wich they transported bunches of bananas. Trying to flee from the nightmare, Jose Arcadio Segundo dragged himself from one car to another in the direction in which the train was heading, and in the flashes of light that broke through the wooden slats as they went through sleeping towns he saw the man corpses, woman corpses, child corpses who would be thrown into the sea like rejected bananas. He recognized only a woman who sold drinks in the square and Colonel Gavilan, who still held wrapped in his hand the belt with a buckle of Morelia silver with which he had tried to open his way through the panic. When he got to the first car he jumped into the darkness and lay beside the tracks until the train had passed. It was the longest one he had ever seen, with almost two hundred freight cars and a locomotive at either end and a third one in the middle. It had no lights, not even the red and green running lights, and it slipped off with a nocturnal and stealthy velocity. On top of the cars there could be seen the dark shapes of the soldiers with their emplaced machine guns..."

I've quoted this long paragraph from Garcia Marquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* to give you some feeling for the intensity and quality of this fantastic novel from Colombia. The passage quoted would suggest that Garcia's novel is one of "social criticism" in the vein of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*. After all, he is describing the horror of the lone survivor of a massacre of banana-plantation workers on strike against a Yankee corporation in the first years of the century. Actually though, *One Hundred Years of Solitude* bursts out of the confines of a specific social critique into a vast, richly colored, surreal panorama of a century of the Buendia family in the mythical town of Macondo in coastal Columbia.

The Buendias begin as haphazard pioneers who found a town in the midst of inaccessible and malarial swamps where none should have been founded. In the early years there are no rich and no poor in Macondo. Civic improvements "just get done." There is no contact with the outside, except for annual visits from a tribe of miracle-working Gypsies.

The Buendia family tree sprouts in all directions breeding obstinate, Quixotic, doomed men and beautiful, perverse women. Colonel Aureliano Buendia, a psychic whose vocation is goldsmithing, becomes the major protagonist in a civil war which racks the nation in almost meaningless quarrel for decades. In the end, the Colonel sees that the Liberal Party cause for which he spent the lives of his devoted followers had become inseparable from the Conservative Party reaction he had fought so pridefully. He sees the coming of North American businessmen with their capital, their machines, and their country clubs, and knows that all his struggle has just paved their way into the lifestream of his nation.

But it is impossible to summarize this novel neatly. It is far too rich and crowded with life, dark sexuality, light sorrow, for that.

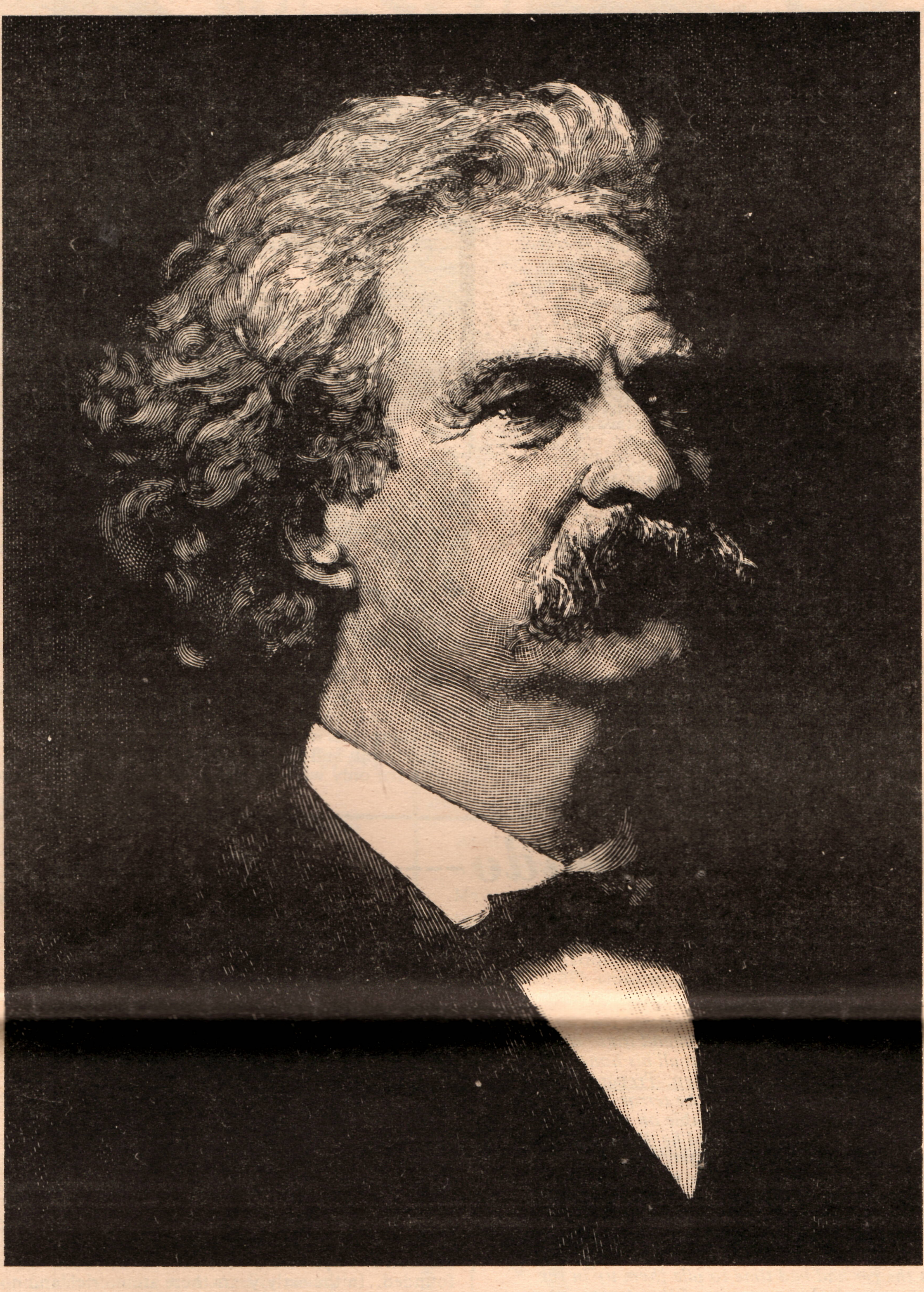
Garcia's approach reminds me of the novels of the U.S. author of the *Sot-Weed Factor* and *Giles Goat-Boy*, John Barth. But while Barth's books are written with a certain flamboyant narcissism, Garcia's novel is grounded in passion and an ultimate concern for the people he writes about. His tale *has* a point; it signifies more than sound and thunder. Although it is a point which is as sub-divided and unsimple as the Buendias themselves.

Perhaps this is because no Latin American artist of today (with the possible exception of that eccentric Argentine, Luis Borges) can avoid having his personal vision enlarged by a concern for society in a period which finds his continent's countless poor thirsting for social revolution.

One Hundred Years of Solitude is very popular in both South America and Europe. I only hope that with an Avon paperback edition on the way it will find a large audience here. Sooner or later, it will. Word gets around about books like this.

By Jim Miller

Mark Twain



The image of Mark Twain as a gentle humorist-satirist and a storyteller in the colorful tradition of the American frontier is familiar to any student with an elementary knowledge of American literature. But a significant facet of Clemen's literary genius has largely been ignored in the classroom- his profound criticism of the social, political, and racial injustices which permeated the American society he knew so well.

Twain's moral indignation is clearly evident in many of his ealry novels. In *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the odyssey of Huck and Jim down the Mississippi is a flight away from tyrannical authority and societal oppression towards freedom. This story illustrates his deeply-felt humanism and his intense hatred of slavery and racism in any guise, of religious hypocrisy, of cruel exploitation , and of poverty and misery.

But as Twain became older, and perhaps wiser, the imaginative freedom he conferred on his early fictional characters was more and more comprised by the real world he could no longer shut out. Increasingly, Clemen's later writings were filled with disgust over what he came to see as "the damned human race." In "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," one of his most bitter polemics, he foresaw the future in store for the imperialistic mentality. He was referring specifically to an historic occasion which foreshadowed our own time- America's missionary zeal in "subordinating" the Chinese during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. "Extending the blessings of civilization to our brother who sits in darkness," he wrote, "has been a good trade and has paid well on the whole; but there is money in it yet, of carefully worked-- but not enough in my judgement, to make any considerable risk advisable. The people that sit in darkness are getting to be too scarce-- too scarce and too shy. And such darkness as is now left is really of but an indifferent quality, and not dark enough for the game. The most of those people that sit in darkness have been furnished with more light than was good for them or profitable for us. We have been injudicious."

Yet it was still possible, Twain declared sarcastically, to explain our peculiar colonial actions to the people in darkness: "They look doubtful, but in reality they are not. There have been lies, yes; but they were told in a good cause. We have been treacherous; but that was in order that real good might come out of apparent evil. True, we have crushed a deceived and confiding people; we have stabbed an ally in the back and slapped the face of a guest; we have bought a shadow from an enemy that hadn't it to sell; we have robbed a trusting friend of his land and his liberty; we have invited our clean young men to shoulder a discredited musket and do bandits' work under a flag which bandits have been accustomed to fear, not to follow; we have debauched America's honor and blackened her face before the world; but each detail was for the best. We know this."

And Mark Twain went on to propose a new American flag with the white stripes painted black and the stars replaced by the skull and crossbones.

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The War Prayer opens with a scene not uncommon in America: "The country was up in arms, the war was on, in every breast burned the holy fire of patriotism . . . a fluttering wilderness of flags flashed in the sun . . . in the churches the pastors preached devotion to flag and country, and invoked the God of Battles, beseeching His aid in our good cause . . . ." As one such pastor finishes his passionate supplication, a pale old man, claiming to be a messenger from Almighty God, enters the church and addresses the congregation of upright Christians. He says that the Lord has heard their prayer, but that it can be answered only if the people realize its full significance.

The hoary stranger then verbalizes what the people fervently prayed in their hearts, but what was left unspoken in the pastor's plea for victory. "O Lord our father, our young patriots, idols of our hearts, go forth to battle---be Thou near them! With them--in spirit--we also go forth from the sweet peace of our beloved firesides to smite the foe. O lord our God, help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreads with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the plae forms of their patriotic dead;help us to drown the thunder of the guns with the shrieks of their wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief; help us to turn them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended the wastes of their desolated land in rags and hunger and thirst, sports of the sun flames of summer and the icy winds of winter, broken in spirit, worn with travail, imploring Thee for the refuge of the grave and denied it---for our sakes who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with their tears, stain the white snow with the blood of their wounded feet! We ask it, in the spirit of love, of Him who is the Source of Love, and who is the ever-faithful refuge and friend of all that are sore beset and seek His aid with humble and contrite hearts. Amen."

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At the turn of the century, lynchings were running about a hundred a year, and many Americans apparently felt there was much to be said for and against them. *The United States of Lyncherdom* (1901) is Twain's indignant look at the manners and mentality of his own country. "And so Missouri has fallen, that great State!" - thus Twain responded to a rash of lynchings in that State. "Certain of her children have joined the lynchers, and the smirch is upon the rest of us. That handful of her children have given us a character and labeled us with a name, and to the dwellers in the four quarters of the earth we are 'lynchers,' now and ever shall be."

The lynching had occurred after the discovery that a young white woman had been found murdered, and perhaps raped---the "usual crime" of that period, the common pretext for lynching Negroes. "Although it was a region of churches and schools," Clemens continued, "the people rose, lynched three Negroes---two of them very aged ones---burned out five Negro households, and drove thirty Negro families into the woods." Churches indeed; one could ask, as Clemens did, what kind of Christianity was practiced in the Southern churches, and what was the part the ministry played in opposing such mobs?

> **"We have invited our clean young men to shoulder a discredited musket and do bandits' work under a flag which bandits have been accustomed to fear, not to follow; we have debauched America's honor and blackened her face before the world."**
>
> *–Samuel Clemens*

Clemens, moreover, went on to point out that every time a Negro was lynched on the supposition of rape, it encouraged more Negroes to consider the possibility of raping, and more white men to perform the act of lynching. In 1900 there had been eight more cases of lynching than in 1899, and in 1901 he thought that there would be more cases than in 1900, mainly in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

The other reason Clemens suggested for the rising rate of lynching during these terrible years in the South was simply the moral cowardice of man at which he had briefly hinted in somber passages that provide a sort of tragic relief in *Huckleberry Finn.* Now, many years later, he wrote: "It has been supposed--and said--that a people at a lynching enjoy the spectacle and are glad of a chance to see it. It cannot be true; all experience is against it. The people in the South are made like the people in the North--the vast majority of whom are right-hearted and compassionate, and would be cruelly pained by such a spectacle--and *would attend it,*and let on to be pleased with it, if the public approval seemed to require it. We are made like that and we cannot help it. The other animals are not so, but we cannot help that, either. They lack the moral sense; we have no way of trading ours off, for a nickel or some other thing above its value. The moral sense teaches us what is right, and how to avoid it--when unpopular."

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Mark Twain had followed the slow disintegration of the American Dream for many years. Even at the turn of the century, he saw how the profits of individuals, corporations and nations would only result in a continuing national loss, wholesale suffering for the entire human community, universal sacrifice and destruction. What we see in the eloquent and radical social satires of Twain's later career is not the rant and bombast of a once great author, but the fateful meeting of the man and his time which created art of a unique personality - hardened and deepened perhaps, by life and by history gone bad, self-destructive and suicidal. Rather than trying to rationalize his late writings as an artistic falling-off, as so many literary scholars have done, we should be glad that the proper chronicler was there at this historical crisis, the sensitive witness of art, civilization and life.

PRISON POEMS BY

Hôchiminh

translated by Kenneth Rexroth

Ho Chi Minh, Father of Modern Viet-Nam, was in prison in KMT China in the early 40's.

THE DESERTER'S WIFE

My husband is gone.
He will never come back.

Left all alone with my sorrow,

My distress
so moved the authorities,

They took me to prison
for a rest cure.

GOOD DAYS COMING

Everything changes, the wheel
of the law turns without pause.

After the rain, good weather.

In the wink of an eye

The universe throws off
its muddy clothes.

For ten thousand miles
the landscape

Spreads out like
a beautiful brocade.

Gentle sunshine.
Light breezes. Smiling flowers.

High in the trees, amongst the
sparkling leaves,

All the birds sing at once.

Men and animals rise up reborn.

What could be more natural?

After sorrow comes happiness.

FREE, I WALK ON THE MOUNTAIN AND ENJOY THE VIEW

Mountains. Clouds.
More mountains. More clouds.

Far below a river gleams,
bright and unspotted.

Alone, with beating heart,
I walk on the Western Range,

And gaze far off towards the South
and think of my comrades.

READING "THE ANTHOLOGY OF A THOUSAND POETS"

The men of old times liked to write
about nature.

Rivers. Mountains. Mists. Snow.
Flowers. Moon. Wind.

We must arm the poetry of our days
with steel,

And our poets
must learn to fight battles.

ENTERING CH'ING SI PRISON

In the prison the old-timers
welcome the newcomers.

In the blue sky
white clouds chase away the storm.

In heaven
the clouds can wander freely.

A free man,
all alone, lies in the depths
of a prison cell.

THE WATER RATION

The water ration is a half basin.

You can do whatever
you want with it.

You can wash your face or make tea.

If you wash, no tea.

If you want tea,
leave your face dirty.

A COMRADE'S PAPER BLANKET

New books, old books,
the leaves all piled together.

A paper blanket
is better than no blanket.

You who sleep like princes,
sheltered from the cold,

Do you know how many men in prison
cannot sleep all night?

PRISON FOOD

For every meal,
just a bowl of brown rice,

No vegetables, no salt,
not even broth.

Those who can have food brought in
can eat in prison.

Those who have no money
cry for their fathers and mothers.

COLD NIGHT

Autumn night.
No mattress. No covers.

No sleep. Body and legs
huddle up and cramp.

The moon shines
on the frost-covered banana leaves.

Beyond my bars
the Great Bear swings on the Pole.

NIGHTFALL

The tired birds return
to their roost in the trees.

Slowly a single cloud
drifts across the sky.

A girl in the village
is grinding corn,

While the fire glows red
in her clay oven.

Ecological Terror

Defoliants and herbicides employed in massive and repeated doses by the U.S.. armed forces have caused great destruction to the forests, agriculture, and animal life in Viet Nam. The long range effects of American chemical warfare against Viet Nam may last for generations. These are the conclusions of a number of leading scientists who have studied the effects of U.S. defoliants in Viet Nam.

At an international scientific conference held recently in Orsay, France, E. W. Pfeiffer, professor of zoology at the University of Montana, reported that over 5 million acres, 12% of South Viet Nam, have been sprayed with defoliating chemicals. The U. S. army admits to having sprayed 500,000 acres of Vietnamese cropland, 7% of the total under intensive cultivation, but true figures are not known due to official U. S. secrecy. Japanese scientists reported in 1967 that 3,800,000 acres of arable land had been ruined.

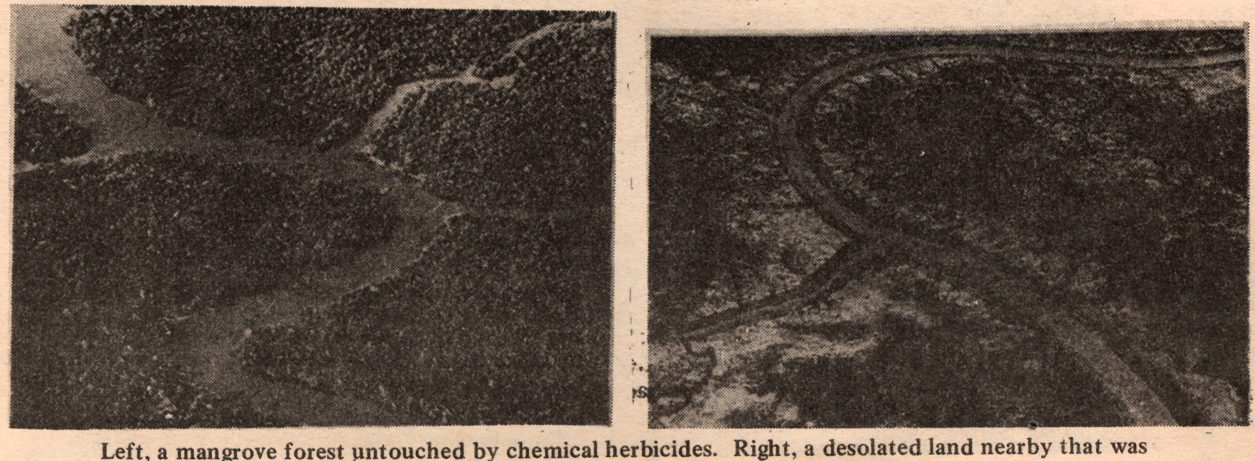
The effects of defoliation on Vietnamese agriculture have been devastating. In 1959, South Viet Nam exported 246,000 tons of rice, but in 1968 they had to import 850,000 tons of rice. Overall agricultural production has decreased by about 30% and the yield of rubber has dropped by 45%.

Not only do herbicides destroy plant life, but they also kill animal life. The rare survivors become sickly and are doomed by lack of food supply.

The long-term damage is also of great concern. Some mangrove forests sprayed in 1961 still have shown no significant recovery. Contaminated soil prevents germination of seed; and as a result of the disappearance of plant cover, soil erosion increases enormously and the fertility of the soil is vastly reduced. Thus large areas of once fertile land may be unsuitable for human habitation for years to come.

A primary concern of the scientists at the Orsay conference was the evidence of effects on humans—especially chromosomic mutations among pregnant women and large numbers of birth defects among newly born babies reported in heavily sprayed areas.

Despite declarations by President Nixon and promises to phase out the use of herbicides, U. S. chemical warfare is being continued in Viet Nam and being extended to other areas of Indochina. Recently, when an American inquirer discovered stocks of "banned" herbicides in South Viet Nam, she was told by U. S. officials that they were under Saigon jurisdiction and the U. S. was not responsible for their continued use.



Left, a mangrove forest untouched by chemical herbicides. Right, a desolated land nearby that was sprayed with herbicides.

Washington March

Continued from page 1

The Washington demonstration is planned as a peaceful march from the Ellipse to the steps of the Capitol where a rally will be held. The major demands of the marchers will be (1) immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, (2) $6500 guaranteed annual income for a family of four, and (3) free all political prisoners.

The April 24 demonstration is one of a series of nationwide actions this spring protesting poverty, racism, and repression; as well as the war. These actions began last weekend with events sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) in tribute to Martin Luther King and centered on the theme "Freedom from hunger, war, and repression."

During the week of April 19-23, the Vietnam Veterans Against the War will sponsor protests in Washington, including a war crimes tribunal on the Capitol steps, a White House vigil, and a ceremonial returning of metals.

After the march and rally on April 24, many people will remain in Washington to participate in two weeks of intensive lobbying at various government agencies related to the war, poverty, the draft, and other issues.

On May 1 there will be a "celebration of peace" and a youth festival. This will be followed by a rally May 2 featuring Ralph Abernathy of SCLC and George Wiley of NWRO. This rally will call for implementation of the People's Peace Treaty. Nonviolent civil disobedience at the Pentagon and at the Justice Department is then planned for May 3 and 4.

On May 5 there will be a nationwide Moratorium in commemoration of last year's killing of students at Kent and Jackson State.

On Armed Forces Day, May 16, there will be demonstrations by GI's against the war at various army bases throughout the nation.

VIETNAM: Imperialism, Na

Early History

Although first organized as a state some 2100 years ago (in 207 B.C. by King Thuo Detruit), Western attempts at colonization of Vietnam began much more recently—during the rule of the Nguyen dynasty in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The French were the first Western colonizers of Vietnam. Using the pretext of alleged persecution of missionaries, the French began sending military forces into Vietnam. Simultaneously, missionary groups, the Naval Officers' corps, and the influential "geographical missions" began urging complete French occupation of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Their propaganda, while speaking of the "civilizing mission" of France, noted also the strategic military and economic advantages that would be gained. Especially significant was the proximity of this region to China, over whose vast markets the French sought influence. French hegemony was achieved by 1884.

Adam Schesch, in his well-documented study *An Outline History of Vietnam,* notes that "French policy in the Indochinese Union was the traditional policy: the colony was to supply cheap raw materials and to be a market for French manufactured goods." Le Than Khoi observes on p. 150 of *Le Vietnam* that "both theoretically and practically Vietnam came to depend almost completely on the interests of the mother country."

(For additional materials, one may consult *Southeast Asia* and *The Roots of French Imperialism* by John Cady; *Le Vietnam* by Le Than Khoi; and *Agrarian Unrest in Southeast Asia* by Erich Jacoby.)

The Rise of Revolutionary Nationalism

The birth of a Vietnamese resistance coincided with the advent of the French occupation. Initially this resistance looked to the leadership of the old Mandarin class, but by the end of World War I this phase of the movement had ended. By this time, most of the native elite began active cooperation with the French.

The French had promised many reforms in Vietnam in order to assure the cooperation of the Vietnamese during the war, but failed to fulfill these promises. Furthermore, almost 100,000 Vietnamese had gone to France as laborers or soldiers and were influenced greatly by their experiences: especially by the fact that alone among French political currents, it was the left which gave unconditional support to their aspirations. Among these expatriates was Nguyen Ai Quoc, whose pamphleteering against the abuses of the French colonial system and for independence earned him a strong reputation as a patriot back in Vietnam.

Cady says of this man: "His intellectual orientation included the reading of Hugo, Zola, France, Tolstoi, Dickens and Shakespeare. He was the first Vietnamese member of the French Socialist Party, but he was later attracted to the Third International . . . "

In referring to the struggle for independence which followed the defeat of the Japanese in 1944, Ellen Hammer notes of this man (*Struggle for Indochina*, p. 53) that "The leader it [Vietnam] followed was Ho Chi Minh."

The August Revolution of 1945 succeeded in overthrowing colonialism in Vietnam. Hammer writes of this victory: "Never before had Vietnam seemed so united. Emperor and people, Catholics and Confucianists, conservatives and communists, they all seemed to support the new republic. In Hanoi, now the capital of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh reorganized the National Liberation Committee, bringing in a Catholic and several more moderate nationalists to form the Provisional Government of the new republic. . . . On September 2, Ho Chi Minh addressed the people of Hanoi for the first time. Millions of words and many thousands of documents had been penned by the Vietnamese in the long struggle against the French . . . they all contributed to the statement Ho made before packed crowds. It was the Declaration of Independence of Viet Nam."

Its first paragraph may sound familiar: "We hold these truths to be self-evident. That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness."

This document refused to admit even that independence had been won from France. It observes that "since the fall of 1940, our country ceased to be a French colony and became a Japanese possession . . . the truth is that we have won back our independence from the Japanese and not from the French." It concluded "Vietnam has the right to be free and independent and, in fact, has become free and independent."

September 2 was Independence Day for Viet-Nam. The people of Hanoi cheered wildly. "It looked to them", Hammer notes"as if the war were over and Viet Nam were free."

The first accomplishment of the new government was the holding of free elections. Ho Chi Minh received a large victory, and on March 6, 1946, Ho Chi Minh signed an agreement with France recognizing Vietnam as an *independent state within the French Union with full independence to come in five years.*

In spite of numerous compromises to which Ho acceeded in order to appease the French troops and assure their respect for the agreements of March, the French had no intentions of granting the Vietnamese any measure of independence. Full scale war broke out in 1947 when the French moved in to capture Haiphong and Hanoi. The Vietnamese government appealed to the United Nations for a peace based on unification, but the UN, then completely dominated by the United States, was unable to hear the appeal.

Direct appeals were made to the United States government, but Truman and Acheson had already embarked on their cold war policies, which dictated full support for the French. This policy of complete antagonism towards Vietnamese independence has been the consistent American policy for the past two decades.

A family mourns.

By 1953, the situation for the French had deteriorated to the point where D.G.E. Hall, in his book *History of Southeast Asia,* observed that "There seemed to be no hope whatever of a French victory. In France, indeed, public opinion had turned against the bloody and expensive struggle . . . On the other hand, by 1953 the United States was paying 80% of the cost of French military effort."

In spite of the impending defeat, official U. S. policy remained adamantly supportive of the French military effort. Hammer quotes then Vice-President Nixon as saying "Under no circumstances could negotiations take place . . . It is impossible to lay down arms until victory is completely won."

The situation which surrounded the final battle for the French—the military disaster at Dien Bien Phu—has been described by Hall as follows: "The danger now became intense with massive American Forces arriving off the coast of Indochina, and Mr. Dulles hinting at the possible use of atomic bombs. Happily Britain's firm stand against allied intervention and in favor of a negotiated settlement carried the day."

Rounding up women and children.

The conference that resulted in the famous Geneva Accord of 1954 followed. Among the provisions of this accord, we note the following: "The Conference recognizes that the essential purpose of the agreement relating to Vietnam is to settle military questions with a view to ending hostilities and that the *military demarcation line should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary.*

The Accord also stipulates that a general election "shall be held in July 1956, under the supervision of an international commission composed of representatives of the member states of the international supervisory commission . . . "

In commenting on the Geneva Accords and its aftermath, Noam Chomsky writes, in his essay *The Logic of Withdrawal:* "Since 1954 there has been one fundamental issue in Vietnam: whether the uncertainty and conflict left unresolved at Geneva will be settled at a local level, by indigenous forces, or raised to an international level and settled through great power involvement. Alone among great powers the United States has insisted on the latter course."

Although the American statement made at the time of the signing of the Geneva agreement implies U. S. acceptance of its principles, the real motives of the U. S. government were "to buy time, to abrogate the gains that the nationalist movement had made on the battle field."

John Foster Dulles, the Secretary of State at the time, gave a news conference a few days after the signing of the Accords hinting very clearly of U. S. plans to create its own puppet regime in South Viet Nam.

With this end in mind, the U. S. could not permit the 1956 elections, for as the late President Eisenhower observed on p. 372 of *Mandate for Change*: "Again, the problem of how the French could win involved local public opinion. The enemy had much popular sympathy and many civilians aided them by providing them both shelter and information. The French still had sufficient forces to win if they could induce the regular Vietnamese soldiers to fight vigorously with them and the populace to support them. *But Guerrilla warfare cannot work two ways: normally only one side can enjoy reliable citizen help* . . .

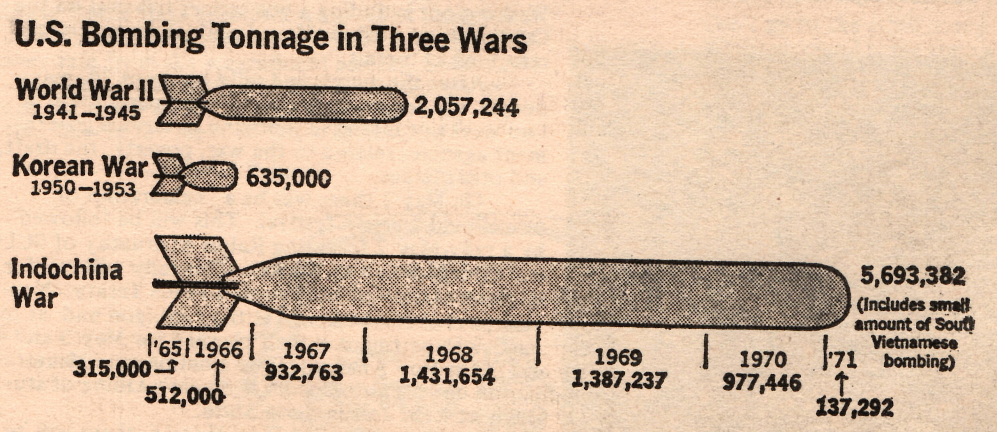
"I am convinced that the French could not win the war because the internal political situation in Vietnam, weak and confused, badly weakened their position. I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indochinese affairs who did not agree that, had elections been held at the time of the fighting, *possibly 80% of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader . . . The mass of the population supported the enemy.*"

The U. S. initially based its hopes on Ngo Dinh Diem, a protege of the C.I.A. Schesch observed of the Diem regime that "The United States allowed it to suppress any political opposition to the corruption, venality, brutality and nepotism of the government. Diem persecuted from 1956 onwards all those who had any connection with the Vietminh nationalist movement that had freed the country from the French . . . Buddhist leaders were threatened with violence and beaten and hunted down."

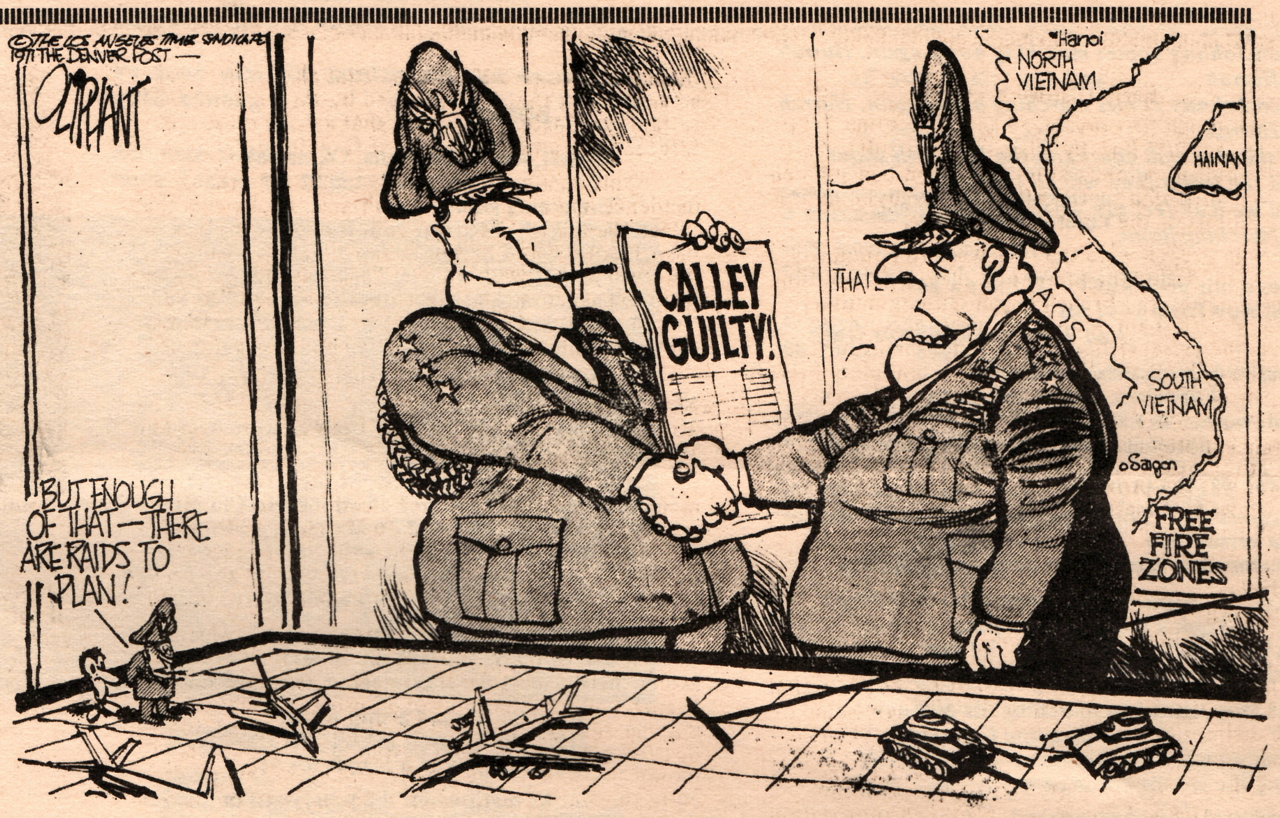
By 1960, four years after the deadline for elections, six years of fascist-like repression, and after numerous spontaneous local uprisings, the National Liberation Front was founded and the struggle for freedom against Diem and the U. S. began in earnest.

Finding the situation under Diem untenable, the U. S. dumped him and there succeeded a whole parade of new puppets, each as notorious as his predecessor and as unsuccessful in putting down the resistance of the people. In his prize-winning reports from Viet Nam in the early sixties, *New York Times* reporter David Halberstam noted repeatedly the indigenous nature of the NLF revolt and its striking success in liberating the south. Nevertheless, President Kennedy used the bugaboo of foreign invasion to justify the introduction of large numbers of U. S. troops and equipment.

(For further reading on this period, one may consult the Schesch essay, *The Struggle For Indochina* by Ellen Hammer, and *Vietnam: History, Documents and Opinions On a Major World Crisis* by Marvin Gettleman).


U.S. Bombing Tonnage in Three Wars

ationalism, and Liberation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OLIPHANT
CALLEY GUILTY!
BUT ENOUGH OF THAT—THERE ARE RAIDS TO PLAN!
Hanoi
NORTH VIETNAM
HAINAN
THAI
LAOS
SOUTH VIETNAM
Saigon
FREE FIRE ZONES

"Excellent! Our honor stands intact!"

Escalation

By the end of 1964, it became clear that the so-called "special war" devised by General Maxwell Taylor had failed: the south Vietnamese people would not fight against their own people in behalf of their American-appointed rulers. The head of the Saigon office of *Asahi Shumbun,* a leading Japanese newspaper, noted: "The number of draft dodgers and deserters is a sign of the failure of the war, by and large, to win the support of young people, who tend to view it as an American war."

The United States gave up any faint hope it may have had for winning a political victory. Johnson unleashed at this time the most vicious and cruel bombing attack in history, both against the people of the south and the north of Viet Nam. Neil Shaehan, in a featured essay in the March 28 *New York Times Book Review* entitled "Should We Have War Crime Trials?" describes the bombing attacks in the following words: "Air power became a distinct weapon of terror to empty the countryside. Samuel P. Huntington, of Harvard, has even coined a marvelously American euphemism for the technique—'Forced draft urbanization and modernization.' " He goes on further, in discussing the extension of this terror into Laos, to say that "The Kennedy Subcommittee estimates that civilian casualties in Laos, which has a population of less than 3,000,000 are now exceeding more than 30,000 a year, including more than 10,000 dead. Many of these casualties are attributable to American bombs. Classified military documents specifically talk about bombing villages in Communist-held areas to *'Deprive the enemy of the population resource.'* No one knows what the civilian casualty toll is in Cambodia, where the same kind of air attacks are taking place. The Kennedy subcommittee guesses there are now about a million and a half refugees in Cambodia out of a population of 6.5 million and that civilian casualties are running at the rate of tens of thousands a year."

Bernard Fall, whose many books and articles made him the leading authority on the war, wrote in 1967 that "What changed the character of the Vietnam War was not the decision to bomb North Vietnam; not the decision to use American ground troops in South Vietnam; but the decision to wage unlimited aerial warfare inside the country at the price of literally blowing the place to bits."

After two years of intensified aerial war and the introduction of close to 600,000 troops, General Westmoreland announced that the NLF was "through forever in warzone C." Around the same time, this wise commander assured us that "Militarily, we have never been in a better relative position in South Vietnam . . . The enemy has been defeated at every turn."

The NLF response to Westmoreland was contained in the Tet offensive of 1968—the largest sustained offensive of the war. The NLF was supported by the people of virtually every single city and town and village, and the degree of their success finally impressed upon several erstwhile supporters of this aggression, the futility of the war. Thus, the late Robert Kennedy, (one of whose children was named after General Maxwell Taylor), and former Undersecretary of the Airforce Townsend Hoopes began to call for an end to U. S. involvement.

The failure of the military to defeat the people in Vietnam led to an escalation of the war into Cambodia, where the C.I.A. engineered a coup which ousted the neutralist chief-of-state Sihanouk and replaced him with a Cambodia version of Thieu and Ky—Lon Nol and Sirik Matak. The Cambodia adventure has led the Cambodian people to unite behind the Khmer Rouge and already two-thirds of that country is liberated; their capital city of Pnompenh is virtually surrounded, and just recently the only oil refinery in the country was destroyed.

Much as in Viet Nam, the war in Cambodia is marked by a callous disregard for the life of Asian people. There is, in the March 21 *New York Times*, a report from Pnompenh, by Henry Kamm reporting on "Vietnamese pillage in Cambodia." Kamm states that "The incidents have been reported throughout the country since South Vietnamese troops began operating in Cambodia last April. . . . .Moreover, politically aware Cambodians charge that the Government of Premier Lon Nol and Deputy Premier Sirik Matak is laggard in compelling Saigon to enforce discipline among its troops." Further in the article, there is a report of battles between Saigon troops and Cambodian troops loyal to the Lon Nol regime."

In spite of denials by Nixon and Laird, American bombing of civilian centers is maintained at a high intensity in Cambodia.

The failure of the Cambodian campaign and of the Saigon regime to solidify any degree of support for itself presented Nixon with strong evidence of the failure of his 'Vietnamization' policy. Thus, the familiar pattern was repeated with the invasion of Laos.

Amid secrecy and a barrage of lies, this adventure was launched for the purpose of destroying the Ho Chi Minh trail and was to be maintained through May, when the monsoon season begins. Although Nixon had ballyhooed the ability of the Saigon troops to "hack things" for themselves *The New York Times* of March 21 headlines an editorial as follows: "Right Word for U. S. Role in Laos is 'Decisive'." However, all the helicopters and artillery and B-52 bombers were of no avail. As Senator Edward Kennedy puts it, this affair was "*A Nightmare* . . . a humiliating retreat carried out so obviously in panic." At the same time, the March 23 *Plain Dealer* describes a mutiny of 53 American soldiers at Khe Sanh, the staging base for the Laos invasion. The March 28 *New York Times* quotes army Sgt. Terry Stallard at Khe Sanh as saying, "We don't want to be relieved—we want to get the hell out of here."

Meanwhile, back at the White House, Mr. superpacificist-himself, Richard Nixon, announces that "I say we cannot say that this is an operation that should be judged a failure."

The March 17 issue of the *New Yorker* takes note of Nixon's self-appointed role of pacifist. The *New Yorker* states: "A few days later, we read that the President describes himself as 'a pacifist'. He predicts that this may be the last war we'll ever fight in. But just the previous day this pacifist sent up a thousand planes to bomb Indo-China."

So far, the war has claimed over 900,000 lives and the U. S. has spent over $125,000,000,000. This war has produced atrocities of such enormity and scope that Lieutenant Calley's crimes pale in comparison. U. S. Presidents have ordered the bombing of the dikes in North Vietnam's Red River Delta to attempt to destroy the agricultural life of that country. Chomsky notes that "As a historical reference point Nazi High Commission Seyss-Inquart was condemned to death for opening the dikes in Holland . . . " Neil Sheehan observed that "if you apply the laws of war to American conduct there, then the leaders of the United States for the past six years at least, including the incumbent President, Richard Milhous Nixon, may well be guilty of war crimes."

(For Further reading one may consult *American Power* and *The New Mandarins* and *At War With Asia* by Noam Chomsky; *The Indo China Story* by The Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars; *Conflict in Indo China* by Gettleman and Kaplam; and for a complete bibliography of books dealing with U. S. war crimes in Southeast Asia, the March 28 *New York Times Book Review* has a rather full list of documents.)

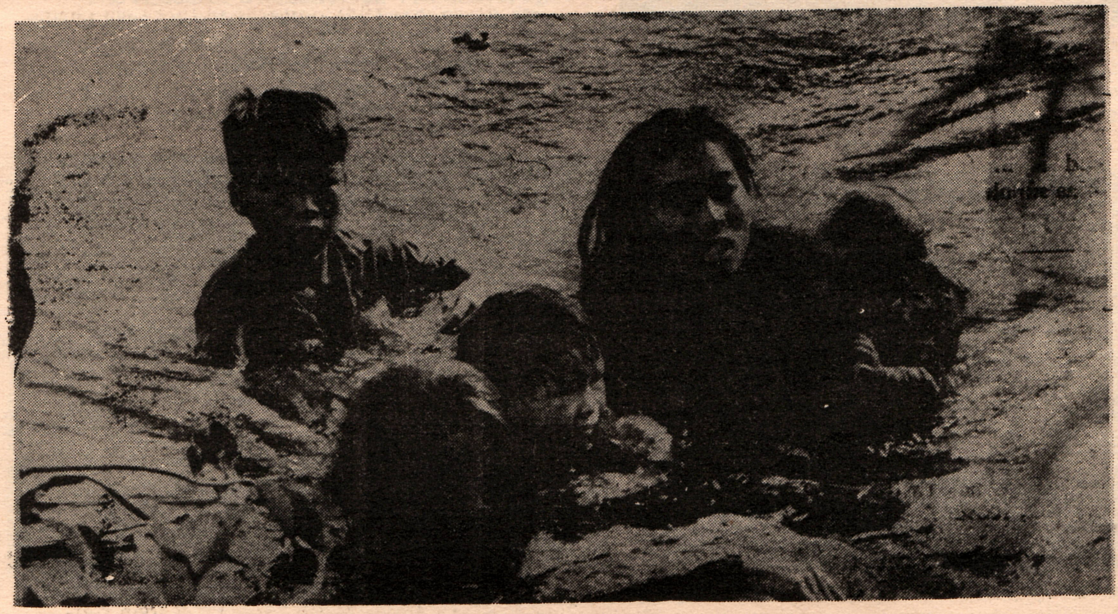
Hoopes, in his book *Limits of Intervention* describes the intensity of U. S. retaliation in the following terms: In Saigon, "artillery and air strikes were repeatedly used against densely populated areas in the city, causing heavy civilian casualties;" in Hue, "80% of the buildings had been smashed to rubble and in the smashed ruins lay 2,000 dead civilians . . . Three-quarters of the city's people were rendered homeless."

Around this same time, an American artillery officer who ordered the bombing of the city of Ben Tre, explained his action with the remark that "It became necessary to destroy the town to save it."

The strength of the liberation forces in Viet Nam, along with the vigorous anti-war opposition in this country, forced major changes in U. S. policy. Not only did McNamara have to step down as Defense Secretary and Westmoreland return to the States, but President Johnson, himself, decided not to run for President. Furthermore, Johnson's hand-picked successor to McNamara, Clark Clifford, split with his chief and began drawing up plans for disengagement.

Nixon ran for President on the promise of some sort of secret plan for ending the war. This plan remains secret three-quarters of the way through Nixon's first term in office.

In fact, what we do have is an escalation of the war—an escalation of killing, of destruction, and . . . of military failure. As Philip Slater puts it: "For some reason the escalation of failure has always been particularly popular with military lobbyists. When the war in the South failed they demanded to be allowed to bomb the North. When the bombing proved ineffectual they demanded it be expanded. When poison gas proved ineffectual they demanded an increase in the amount and toxicity of gas used."



A Vietnamese mother and her children wade through river in flight from U.S. bombing that destroyed their village.

Two famous anti-war speakers will be in Cleveland during the next few weeks. Louis Kampf, Professor of Literature at MIT and president of the Modern Language Association, will be featured speaker at a teach-in at CSU on April 16. Dave Dellinger, a leading member of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, will speak at John Carroll on April 22 at 7:30 P.M. in Kulas Auditorium.

LITERARY MAGAZINE IN EXILE

When Johnny comes marching home again, Hurrah
Hurrah
When Johnny comes marching home again, Hurrah
Hurrah
Oh the men will cheer and the boys will shout
And the ladies they will all turn out
And we'll all feel gay when Johnny comes
Marching home

Does it stir your soul?   Is there a beat
That runs from your ear
And down through your feet?

They've been marching for years
Ever since society was born
Men, women in motion
Synchronized in common purpose

Da da–da da da–da dum

Drumbeat'   For years they marched to war
Man versus man   Men versus men
Convinced of the need to destroy themselves

Then   some of them stopped   thought
Took a look at themselves
Decided they wanted to live   let live
Decided that war was insane

And they turned to marching for peace
parading for people
No more war   No more war
Bring the troops home now

Turning the madness around
We will not kill people   We will kill war

The blood money hands   of the blood money mongers   must be stopped   No more dollars
stacked on coffins
No more empires bleeding people
We'll make our paper country live in reality
The founding fathers will finally rest   easy

We're gonna tell Nixon
We won't take it anymore   and Nixon
Alone in his eggshell White House   Nixon
Will hear our voices   hear our marching feet

And he and we and all will know
The joke that is "silent majority"

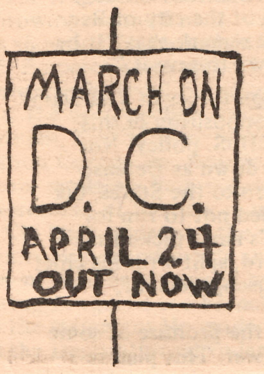
We are "vocal majority"   We cry "peace"
WE march "no more war!"
And our feet will go on forever

—Charles Pekarek

5th AVENUE CANDY BAR

May I borrow a dime,
I just ate my phone call—

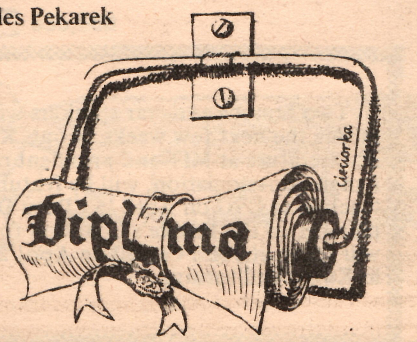
—Bill&Mitzi



CHARLIE DAYS GONE BIRD BY PARKER

Early Miles who stumbled over magnificent bird's
Night in Tunisia now himself writes the roadmaps.
Alto outstripping easily sadly understaffed
eppiglotii
Mingus' home stage tape precorder set at Massey's
Hall to catch the last for all time last sweet drops
of honey rain from the magnificent soaring screaming
dive—bombing climbing in and out of the around and
through the over—under sides of always horning
bird that flew in the night of "dark secret love"

—Charles Pekarek



BONES

(Myself, age seven, Naha, Okinawa)

The young girls:

They hurtled like flags
down into the pit.

Their tombs are black basalt, and painted now
green with sea-mists. Small ashen bones
cradle in granite jars,
slipping back into a wet
lap of stone.
The girls stood
on the lip of decay and leaped,
their faces drawn up in kerchiefs.

In 1953, I am a child watching the curl
of East Chinese waves,——
swimming in the lit salt
of the sea, my small face
broken with foreign laughter.

Soldier of bones, Imperial Soldier,
sits up there, grenade on mossy pelvis.
Sits in his yellow cave above our quarters.

We came aboard a ship whose
table cloths smelt of salt. At Hawaii
the band played a march for us.

At night when the pillars of the shrines
were black and the lights of the P.X.
shut-off, mice tapped
around my bed like little bones
of fur. Not even Yoshiko
could find them out.
When morning came
we found them in our traps.

—Jim Miller

Can't go to the store today
Why not spend some time at the beach
The man said school is where it's at
He doesn't know——
Like I know that he knows——
About my knowing
What does it matter anyway
It's cold outside and nothing will change
I know and he knows——
And you know and we know——
That we know
It's a funny circle
Why doesn't anyone laugh
Because we're crying
And there is only laughing in crying
So let's all cry before it's too late and we
Can't laugh today or tomorrow or sometime.

—LeRoy Schwartz

SIX POEMS ABOUT NEW YORK CITY

1.

picking tables
at the 42nd street station.

builds blue sky
small blurb   city .
your mighty wrists
pink
gripped in clouds less

2.

within a mile
organism   glory no gold
yet   tap

pile of bricks
fall   track rubbing breath
in and out of silver

3.

not answering glass breaking the

running
up sounds
splashing   racers

brown metal hung

fire   imodality.

name tag tubes

4.

glue hair

medium

marbles across granite.   hammers.

5.

silence   persue
disruption life   fuzz
garment
stolen from the street.

rich pear tree.   crowded men

prize.

6.

Dear Sir,
burning
tag to cool
brightly boredom   pioneer

at ads countrys.   than running in grass.

—js. salata.

nineteen   seventy   one

that I was sadly
six   slow last steps
from nowhere else
on new year's eve
not even drinking
had you upset enough
to gloat at a glimpse of me cowering
in a cranny I couldn't convince you
was matter imagined fainter nowhere.

how many
raise your hands
have seen the beast?

—Dennis McDonnell
March/71

CHILE...

Continued from page 5

has been a durable, well-organized Marxian Socialist Party to the left of the communists, and with its own mass base in the working-class and trade-union movement.

The socialist movement in Chile began to become a serious contender for power in the '50s, as its popular base among the workers widened. Between 1952 and 1956, the organized working-class movement became increasingly unified: on the trade-union level, a central labor organization (CUT) was formed, and in the political arena a broad electoral bloc emerged (PU), uniting the socialists and communist.

The expectation of a revolution has been in the wind for a decade or more in Chile. When Allende lost (by a narrow margin) in 1958, hundreds of thousands of workers surged into the streets spontaneously, believing that they had been robbed in the ballot count, while others were demanding that Allende, not Alessandri, be selected President by Congress (a constitutionally permissable and historically supportable course). The outgoing president, Carlos Ibanez, called on the head of CUT, a Christian Socialist, to offer the Left the reins of government and throw his authority in their favor if asked. Heated secret debates ended with the decision of the communists and socialists to call for observance of the legal results of the election and to cool off revolutionary fervor.

Six years later, in 1964, Christian Democrat candidate Frei (the U.S.'s "white hope"), was elected on a program explicitly designed as an alternative to the socialist movement. He spoke in a populist, nationalist, even revolutionary, idiom, and called for a "revolution in liberty". The Christian Democratic program emphasized the need to "recover" Chile's resources, especially copper, from foreign control. With its rhetoric of "mass participation" of the poor and the need for vast reforms, the supposedly conservative Christian Democracy is a revealing index of the deterioration of the Chilean capitalist system over the past twenty years. Few leading Chilean intellectuals now defend capitalism as a humane or just system, and the overwhelming majority of the workers are class-conscious, militant supporters of the Marxian Left.

Revolution in Countryside

In the past ten years the peasantry has emerged as a potentially powerful left force. Under the Christian Democratic government, agitation about agrarian reform was at a perpetual peak. And the number of peasants involved in strikes trebled in the first year (1964-5) after Frei took office, while the Frei Administration went ahead, though slowly and reluctantly, with expropriation (with compensation) of several large estates. Frei had promised new land for 100,000 families, but settled only 30,000 during his term in office (while spending $100,000,000 to compensate former landowners.)

However, by making the talk of agrarian reform respectable, Christian Democrats gave the Left a major opportunity to speak to hundreds of thousands of peasants in remote and isolated haciendas and small-holders communities which had been practically inaccessible to socialists and communists before. They gained strength among all types of peasants in the past years, both among agricultural wage laborers and small proprietors (but particularly among the latter).

The political radicalization of the peasantry has continued against a background of small but cumulative changes in the countryside---including electrification, improved transportation, mechanized production---which have undermined the hold of the old system of social control by the large landowners. These changes, coupled with growing political agitation, created a situation in which the organized socialist movement was not only broadening its already major base among workers in the mines, mills, and factories, but gaining tens of thousands of new adherents among the peasants as well. With the growth in the cities of a new movement among the previously unorganized slum dwellers--the so-called movement of the "Homeless"--this means that scarcely any exploited stratum remains in Chile which has not penetrated by the left and socialist ideas.

Initiatives by younger socialists, many of them in the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and others in the Christian left Movement of United Popular Action (MAPU), have kept these old Socialist and Communist parties alert and actively organizing, unable to rest with their present base even if they wished to do so. In the months preceding the elections, urban land seizures and peasant occupations seemed to be occurring in a raped crescendo, and the New York Times reporter quoted "a conservative Chilean civil servant" whose fears and estimate of the situation undoubtedly reflected those of the privileged in general: "It makes little difference whether or not Allende wins this election. Without quick and drastic action, the Marxists will win their real battle anyway." Another reporter asked a Chilean peasant what he thought of the recent election of Salvador Allende. The peasant simply replied, "Now it's our turn."

Hope, Fears, and the Future

It is now five months since the election. The PU under Allende has proven to be quite canny in its dealings with both the Chilean bourgeoisie and with the American government. Grave difficulties lie ahead, of couse. The PU platform called for the nationalization of the banking industry, major domestic and U.S. corporations, and the large agrarian estates, while instituting democratic planning in the interests of the nation as a whole. Very little of this program has as yet been accomplished, which in itself is understandable, since it in essence indicates a complete shift to socialism. (Observors have said that the Chilean Communist party was reluctant to agree to the sweeping PU platform, but went along in the interests of Left unity. Conservatives in the CP might hold back the implementation of the program out of bureaucratic cautiousness.)

The crux of the matter appears to be this: it is very difficult to move slowly and step-by-step toward a socialist economy because such a program takes long periods of time and during that time the capitalists will be extremely reluctant to invest in the economy. If they do not invest, the economy stagnates and a business depression results. If the socialist government takes steps to restore the confidence of businessmen it will be selling out its own program of radical social change. The dilemma may be insoluble.

In any case, Chile is pointing the way for the rest of Latin America. The Chilean peasants and workers are not likely to give up the gains they have made. Chilean intellectuals and students are unlikely to give their vision of an egalitarian, just society in Chile.

Above all the establishment of another socialist government in the Americas is of prime political importance. Neighboring Peruvian and Bolivian "nationalist" regimes which have put through some radical reforms and imposed new limits on foreign capital are certainly not immune to the influence of a more radical model on their borders. Nor can the military regime and ruling classes of Argentina, with which Chile shares a 2500-mile border, ignore what happens there. The ice-jam of the reactionary South American past has begun to break up and flow toward the open sea.

(Basic Sources: Maurice Zeitlin, *Ramparts*, April 1971; Editors, *Monthly Review*, January, 1971.)

MOD CHILD

God Bless the Child That Has His Own

Boutique

"Mod Clothes For Mod Children"

Ages 4-14

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Sounds of Liberation

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STOP
BUTCHER
ABORTIONS

Support Repeal of Ohio's Abortion Laws!

DEMONSTRATE APRIL 10

12 noon PICKET LINE, OLD FEDERAL BUILDING
public square & superior

1:00 pm RALLY, TOM JOHNSON MEMORIAL
public square

FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND

NO FORCED STERILIZATION

In this supposedly "democratic" but definitely sexist society, women are denied the basic human right to control their reproductive lives, a right which a twentieth century "advanced" civilization could adequately and safely provide with its technology and institutions. But instead it sentences its female population to a life of forced breeding or to suffer the consequences of social stigma, psychological and physical maiming, or death. That legal birth control methods are not adequate is shown by the fact that one out of every four women has had or will have an abortion some time in her life.

As the law now stands, it serves to discriminate against the poor and non-white woman. For example, 90% of the legal therapeutic abortions performed in hospitals in New York in the last twenty years were performed on white women, while criminal abortions accounted for a disproportionately higher number of deaths among the underprivileged. This goes to prove the important point of how the law reflects whose interests are of primary importance and how these interests are furthered and protected by the law. That laws serve only men and the well-off is abundantly clear.

It is equally clear that women get abortions whether they are legal or not. The law just makes more women get criminal rather than legal abortions, and many women die at the hands of untrained abortionists. Each year more women die from botched illegal abortions than GI's die in Vietnam.

The open denial of our democratic rights is an insult and a danger for all women whether directly involved or not when they, as a category of people, are set apart for punishment and abuse, and a double standard of treatment prevails.

We as women must advance the struggle against illegal abortion. It is first and foremost our struggle--no matter how well-intentioned the ecologists, moralists and professionals--we are being murdered and we directly bear the burden of unwanted children. Our power lies in our ability to fight together as women and to define our struggle against those who are so afraid and reluctant to let the female population determine its own existence.

We of the Abortion Project Coalition urge you to show your support by taking part in the demonstration and rally on Saturday April 10. At 12:00 noon at the Old Federal Building we will picket offices of state legislators. At 1:00 there will be a rally at the Tom Johnson Memorial on Public Square with speakers from various organizations.

The demonstration has been endorsed by the association for Reform of Ohio's Abortion Laws (AROAL), National Organization of Women (NOW) Cleveland State Women's Liberation, CWRU Women's Liberation, Baldwin-Wallace Women's Liberation, and Heights High Women's Liberation.

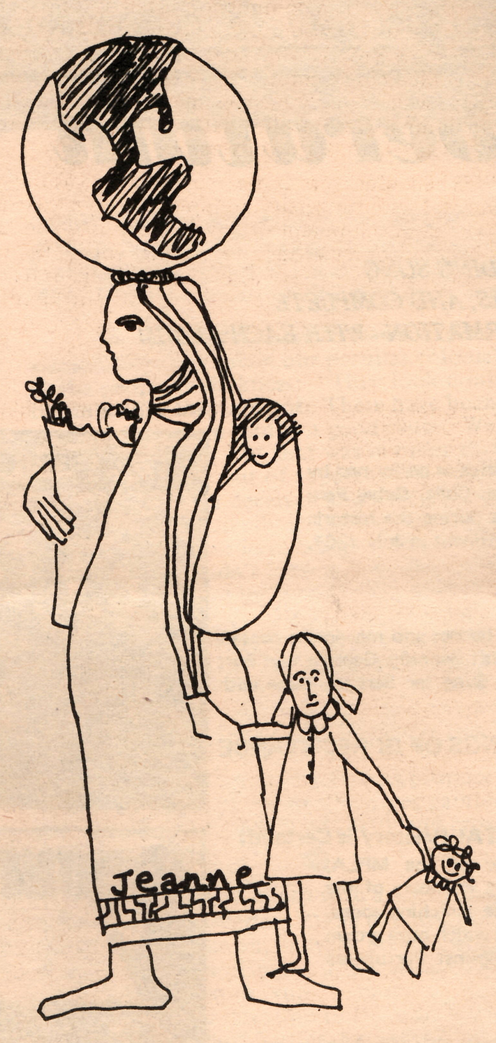
WOMEN'S LIBERATION WORKSHOPS

C. S. U. Women's Liberation is offering a series of workshops this quarter. First in the series was, Free? Love - A discussion of male-female relationships outside of marriage, held on March 31st.

April 7 - ABORTION (with a film)
April 21- WOMEN AND THE WAR (with a film)
May 5- MARRIAGE
May 19-JOBS
June 2 -MEDIA

The workshops will be held in CU 605, Wednesdays at 2:00 p.m.

ALL WOMEN WELCOME!



"No female shall be employed in any occupation requiring frequent or repeated lifting of weights over 25 pounds" CONNECTICUT STATE LAW

WOMEN'S LIBERATION: A Man's View

An ancient Sanskrit myth tells of a perplexed man who cannot live with woman, cannot live without her. The myth, a product of a male dominated culture (much the same as our own culture in this respect), does not ring true to the ear. Some men, it seems, have learned to live without woman, and a great many more have learned to live with her. And if the myth is to be loosely interpreted as an allusion to the various problems of heterosexual relationships, then it would seem only logical to include a converse statement to the effect that woman cannot live with man, cannot live without him.

Whether the male ego can sustain the assault or not, the Women's Liberation Movement is here to stay. Anti-WLM argues that, in American society, the woman is afforded more freedom, more self-determination than in any other society in history. This may or may not be true. Granted, women are no longer executed at childbirth as useless, and, there are few recorded cases of white slavery today. But partial liberation will never be tolerated by a woman, by anyone. A prisoner who can taste freedom, smell it just around the corner, will do all in her or his power to attain said freedom.

Anti-WLM further argues that the American woman is not grateful for these liberal allowances. But why should anyone be at all grateful for partial bestowal of that which is due totally, by right of birth? Should one be appreciative of filthy air and water on the grounds that they are better than no air and water at all?

The limited freedoms (which are absurdities if one gives the matter any thought at all: You are free, but only as free as I permit you to be), are expected to be sold to the modern woman as part of a package deal; a deal which includes commensurate limited responsibilities. Modern man is offended if a woman seems less than content to bear and raise his children, keep his house, and satisfy his sexual drives. In short, he fails to comprehend any act of woman other than an act of submission. In his estimation, a woman who fails to succumb is in violation of moral and natural law, and he turns to numerous sources, including the Bible, to substantiate his position.

The liberated woman has a somewhat clearer picture of the origins of the mandates which act upon her. Civil and religious lawbooks were written by men. The system exists by men, for men and of men. Is it any wonder then, that women organize to gain their rights?

There exists today a widespread misunderstanding as to the nature and objectives of the WLM. So widespread, that a well-known CSU Psychology teacher, when lecturing recently on Dating and Marriage, urged any female who had Feminist tendencies to seek out docile and submissive males as prospective marriage partners, ones who could be successfully henpecked for life. It would appear that even the hallowed halls of Psychology are subject to the formulation of misconceptions, a practice which they vigorously avoid and decry.

The goal of Women's Lib is not a turning of the tables, is not an establishment of female dominion. Rather, WL is concerned with the establishment of full equality among the sexes. The goal of WL is not the destruction of male and female sexual demarcations, is not the establishment of some hideous Unisex as a replacement for what is now known as man and woman.

Sexual differences can be acknowledged without the accompaniment of value judgments. Only a fool would hold that males can be impregnanted and give birth. But such differences are of a biological nature, and in no way grant superiority to one sex or the other.

The eminent Psychologist and Sociologist, Erich Fromm, in *The Sane Society*, defines the two basic types of relationships: *master-slave*, in which one party dominates and abuses the other (with mutal attrition as the result); and *Love*, "union with somebody, or something, outside oneself, under the condition of retaining the separateness and integrity of one's own self." The desirability of love in a marriage is universal. It seems odd then, that the male, in desperate attempt to maintain his inflated self-image, repressed that very group which acts not only in its best interests, but in his as well. As Fromm writes, "Love is an experience of sharing, of communion, which permits the full unfolding of one's own inner activity. The experience of love does away with the necessity of illusions. There is no need to inflate the image of the other person, or of myself, since the reality of active sharing and loving permits me to transcend my individualized existence and at the same time to experience myself as the bearer of the active powers which constitute the act of loving."

The Liberated Woman, then, is only trying to create the objective conditions which must preceed Love: equality and mutual respect.

OPEN HOUSE FOR WOMEN, Women's Center
The Women's Center, 1751 Bryn Mawr Ave.
1751 Bryn Mawr , East Cleveland
Sunday, April 18, 2:00pm

Resistance to Consciousness

When a woman is invited to join Women's Liberation or attend a Women's Liberation meeting; an automatic reaction is sometimes one of blind resistance. Fear is the main cause of such a reaction, and an examination of this resistance may help to overcome it. The following are some of the reasons women have given for their resistance to consciousness. The reader may find them to be painfully familiar.

Thinking that our man is the exception, and therefore, we are the exception among women.

Thinking that individual solutions are possible, that we don't need solidarity and a revolution for our liberation.

Thinking that only institutions oppress women as opposed to other people. This implies that you have not identified your enemy, for institutions are only a tool of the oppressor. When the oppressor is stopped he can no longer maintain his tools and they are rendered useless. Present institutions and our feelings about them should be analyzed in order to understand what it is we want or don't want to use in the new society.

Thinking that women consent to their own oppression (or anyone for that matter.) This is a statement which puts the blame on the oppressed group rather than on the oppressor class which ultimately uses brute force to keep the oppressed where they are. It is an anti-woman and anti-people statement.

Thinking that because we have an education privilege and can talk in abstracts we are somehow exempt from feeling oppression directly and talking about it honestly and, therefore think of personal experience as something low on the ladder of values (class values).

Thinking that male supremacy is only a psychological privilege with "ego" benefits as opposed to a class privilege with sexual and economic benefits.

Thinking that the relationships among men and women are already equal and thus immersing yourself in utopian fantasies of free love in spite of the fact that the objective conditions deny it.

To deny that you are oppressed is to collaborate in your oppression. To collaborate in your oppression is a way of denying that you are oppressed.

DAY CARE: Advice From the Classroom

You never know what you might come across in a sociology course these days. For instance, you might read in your textbook, if it happens to be *Making the Most of Marriage* by noted sociology Paul Landis that "Colleges and universities could do a great deal to improve the circumstances in which college marriages operate."

He goes on to say: "Ready availability of nursery schools, kindergartens, and child care centers would do a lot to ease the burden of couples with children. Such facilities are particularly needed if the wife works. But even if she does not, they are needed on occasion to provide her with an opportunity to get out of the home and escape its confining routine."

Lester A. Kirkendall in his "Married Undergraduates on the Campus: An Appraisal", *The Coordinator*, 5:2 December, 1956, finds the following a real risk. If the college age wife drops out of school to support her husband or to become a homemaker, she isolates herself from many of the social experiences which would, for a single woman, bring a great deal of growth during these late teen years. *Then there is a very real danger of the husband outgrowing the wife.*

Landis has this to say about the situation: "Undoubtedly this is one of the realities of the growth experience of college men whose wives take a *subservient* role in becoming the breadwinner or homemaker, thus *providing the opportunity for the husband to grow while slighting their own growth.*"

Approaching the day-care issue from the perspective of the role of the family in today's society, Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner, professor of psychology and child development at Cornell University, is quoted as follows in the *New York Times* of March 28: "It used to be the view that only people in trouble or people neglecting their children wanted day care. Now there is recognition that the need for day care is real and does not imply moral deficiency in parents, or that the parents don't really care about their children".

Dr. Bronfenbrenner testified before a Congressional committee that other countries are far ahead of the United States in the development of child-care programs. He cited the urgent need of low-income families and those without fathers for day care programs and also noted that "there is a tremendous demand for day care from the well-to-do."

He added that most of this demand came from mothers. "In a society where women do not get recognition and reward in their roles as women, the children in that society will be in trouble."

Bronfenbrenner urges day care centers with a role for the parents. "Day care can further isolate the children or bring them back to people." A remedy the professor feels is for the working parents to spend time with their child during the day. In this respect, Dr. Bronfenbrenner suggests establishment of a four-day workweek, or taking one day off during the week, instead of on the weekend. To these suggestions we would like to add the idea of released time for employees to spend with their children, in day care centers established at the place of employment.

This advice by experts in the field could be well taken at CSU. Parent controlled, university subsidized day care was the topic of a well-reasoned and well-documented proposal presented to President Harold Enarson. As was pointed out in the proposal, the universities cannot continue to ignore the expertise of their own educators without exacerbating the credibility gap.

In Cleveland, for instance, The Community Commission on Day Care was set up for the study of day care in this city. The commission listed among its ranks; Gardner Munro, School of Applied Social Sciences, Case-Western Reserve University ; Oliver Schroeder, Jr., Law-Medicine Center, Case-Western Reserve University; as well as many businessmen, concerned citizens, and including Mrs. Harold Enarson, wife of the President of Cleveland State University.

When educators and persons of responsibility connected with university administrations speak out in favor of development of day care services and take part in such commissions as described above, then these same educators and University administrators should be held responsible for their role and they should work to expedite the establishment of such day care centers by all means at their disposal.

Lucy Stone Lives!

> "In education, in marriage, in religion, in everything, disappointment is the lot of woman. It shall be the business of my life to deepen this disappointment in every woman's heart until she bows down to it no longer."

The above is a quote from a speech by Lucy Stone, one of the primary orators of the Women's Rights Movement of the 1800's.

A few hours before Lucy Stone's birth her mother had milked eight cows because a sudden thunderstorm had called all hands on the farm into the field. Mrs. Stone greeted her newborn accordingly: "Oh, dear! I am sorry it is a girl. A woman's life is so hard."

Born in 1818 on a farm in Massachusetts, Lucy found that the life of a woman was indeed hard and that even when she worked as much and as hard as a man she was still regarded as his inferior. Lucy worked hard on the farm besides doing her schoolwork. Money was scarce and Lucy started teaching school at sixteen in order to make enough money to continue her schooling. She taught for $1 a week, saving her earnings for nine years, until she had enough to go to college.

Lucy was one of the first women to graduate from the "regular" course, as opposed to the "literary" course which was primarily designed for women, at Oberlin College in 1847. She prepared herself for a course in public speaking but had to practice secretly in the woods, for that career was not considered suitable for a woman. At Oberlin, the girls were forbidden to speak in public. In 1848, after her graduation from Oberlin, Lucy became a lecturer for the Anti-Slavery Society. She lectured on abolition on weekends and for women's rights during the week.

In appearance Lucy Stone was a little woman, unimpressive in appearance but unforgettable as a speaker. Her courage and conviction enabled her to face and triumph over the worst mobs. The voice of Lucy Stone was a source of irritation to many. The Boston *Post* published a poem whose final stanza ran:

> A name like Curtius shall be his,
> On fame's loud trumpet blown,
> Who with a wedding kiss shuts up
> The mouth of Lucy Stone.

It was hoped by many that Henry Blackwell, Lucy's ardent suitor, would marry her and thereby end her career as feminist. Lucy, however, felt that "Marriage is to a woman a state of slavery." For many years she declined Henry's offer of marriage suffering constantly from indecision over the matter. . When Lucy finally made the decision to marry Henry she retained her maiden name and the couple made up their own wedding vows which read in part:

> *While we acknowledge our mutal affection by publicly assuming the relationship of husband and wife . . . We deem it a duty to declare that this act on our part implies no sanction of, nor promise of voluntary obedience to such of the present laws of marriage as refuse to recognize the wife as an independent, rational being, while they confer upon the husband an injurious and unnatural superiority.*

The marriage, instead of "shutting up the mouth of Lucy Stone", was the union of two advocates of women's rights who combined efforts. Their daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell, was also very influential in the women's suffrage movement.

In her own lifetime, Lucy Stone saw the laws of almost every state radically changed in regard to women. Most high schools and two-thirds of the colleges in the United States were now open to women.

By the time of her death in 1893 Lucy Stone had good reason to be glad she was born a woman. There was still much to be done, but women were on the road to equality.

Play-in here?

The Dean's office at U. Mass., Boston, was the scene of a play-in Wednesday, Mar. 18, when students and employees brought their children for the morning. They were protesting the lack of free day care facilities for children of workers, students, and faculty members. As the Dean left his office for other parts, the children, at times as many as 40, were playing with blocks, balloons, crayons, and toy trucks, playing tag in the corridor, and having juice and cookies. The action was called by the U. Mass. Coalition for Day Care, made up of numerous campus organizations, and the Children there represented only a small proportion of those who need the day care service, since most parents are not free to take their children out for a morning.

Cleveland Health Care

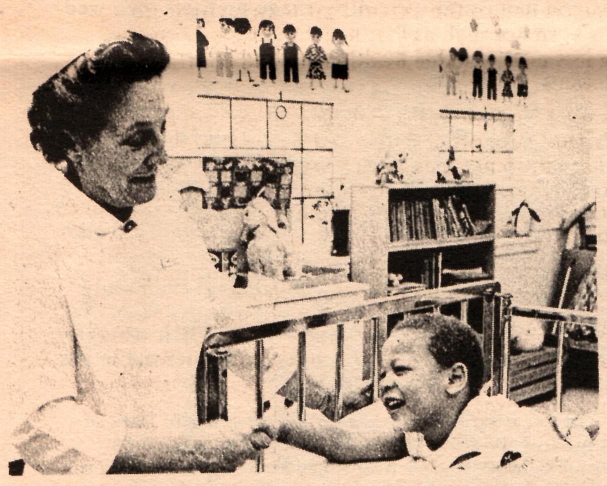
Approximately 75% of the MD's in Cuyahoga County are in the area bounded on one side by the Cleveland Clinic, and on the other side by the Community Health Foundation. Despite the fact that these doctors, with all the other health professionals clustered around them are at the point of intersection of Hough, Glenville, and the Southeastern Black Ghettos, they are not there to serve the poor or the near poor (medically indigent).

Money as a Determinant

If you have a lot of money, you can get yourself a private physician and if he is conscientious, he will try to keep you from getting sick as well as disgnosing illnesses early through check-ups and constant availability. If you get sick, there are various services at your disposal (labs) to help you get reliable health service.

If you earn less than $10,000 yearly and have a family of four, you are lucky to be able to afford Blue Cross and/or Blue Shield health insurance, you don't receive regular check-ups, but may have a "family doctor," whom you see when you're sick. He has some idea of what you're about physically from seeing you from time to time. He also checks up on you to see what effects–good or bad–his treatments are having. By doing so, he not only helps you, but learns something about the various effects of the treatments and drugs he is using. If you are really lucky, you belong to a union or are a teacher, and are eligible to belong to the Kaiser Community Health Foundation where the staff are paid bonuses for keeping you well, and where a large range of associated services exist (psychological, etc.).

But suppose you're sometimes working and sometimes laid off–or are on welfare or self-employed and you can't afford insurance for doctor visits, the Community Health Foundation, or even Blue Cross (hospitalization). This means that you only look for medical help when you're really sick, while letting go of "little" complicating problems which you never do anything about. It means that you must take your children to some "public institution" (read: large, white, far away, long waits, little patience, professionals from a totally different world who make no effort to understand your problems).



Cleveland's Well Baby Clinics are one of the few positive aspects of the local health situation.

For babies, there are the city's seven Well Baby Clinics. Despite huge cuts in the city health budget, these places for children up to about one year of age do give shots, information on diet, etc. and are probably more efficient since they've been forced by the cuts to combine staffs with federally sponsored Maternal and Infant Project (prenatal checkups and infant care) and with Metropolitan General's Sick Baby Clinic (county funds). The problem is, if you are poor, sick, over 5 years old and not sick enough to be hospitalized, you are in a real bind. This includes easily a majority of the population of the city of Cleveland.

The Federal Medicaid Law should cover you so you can go to a Private M.D. if you earn less than $3750 for a family of 4 (ever tried to live on $900 per person?). But Ohio only covers about 40% of those eligible under Federal Law because Governor Rhodes would have had to tax someone with some money to get the state's share of funds. Even assuming that you receive Medicaid, of the 6–12 pediatricians in the inner city, almost all practicing in Glenville, where the Black Bourgeoisie is to be found, none will accept Medicaid patients unless the difference between their usual fee and what Medicaid considers reasonable (about 60%–just as Blue Cross, knowing more about real hospital costs, only pays about 2/3 of your bill) is paid.

Least Common Denominator of Health

Finally, we arrive at the least common denominator of health care for most of the working class people in Cleveland: hospital outpatient departments these are, in order of outpatient visits, University Hospitals (39%) Metropolitan General (30%), Mt. Sinai, St. Lukes, St. Vincent's Charity, Lutheran Grace.

Now there are three big crucial pushes in health care–the hospitals are in the process of trying to shut down their services to the poor in ambulatory care, the federal government is going to foster a system of "community controlled" health facilities, and some citizen groups are banding together to create their own facilities and programs and demand institutional, professional, and governmental aid.

The big hospitals are exemplified by University with an endowment of $50 million, which has a deficit of $2 million per year on its outpatient department. The trustees say that they are the only people willing to raise money and that one way or another, health care for the poor is someone else's (the government's) responsibility. The hospital administrators (Ohio Hospital Association), headed by Sydney Levine, the administrator and absolute dictator at Mt. Sinai Hospital, are trying to get the state Medicaid law expended to the full federal limits (without even mentioning public accountability until the Medical Committee for Human Rights and Legal Aid put the pressure on). University Hospital Trustees are doing little to work for this law (they don't even want to pay the taxes to finance it) and if by July 1, the law is not on the verge of passing (it is very likely that the law will not pass) they will cut the outpatient department budget by 33%. Already as of January 1, this budget has been cut by 15% which was claimed to be taken up in inefficiencies (removing social workers, asking aids to voluntarily switch to the wards, laying off 1 of 4 already overburdened nurses in the pediatric clinic). It is certainly true that these clinics are grossly inefficient, but no new organization is envisaged, just fewer people and services available.

Meanwhile, other hospitals that might be able to take up the overflow from University Hospitals are also cutting back. The county has put a freeze on all hiring at Metropolitan General, and it is rumored that cuts in service are to be announced there. Mt. Sinai and St. Lukes are waiting to see if University Hospitals receive any "bad community response" on July 1 before they similarly cut back on services. They are already referring some patients to overwhelmed Metropolitan General.

The second big push comes from the federal government. The O.E.O. finances the Hough-Norwood Center–a neighborhood center with some community people on its board, but which is still having a difficult time relating to the community. The rate of people who keep their appointments has been less than 50%. This is an indication of the bad image and non-compliance with treatment that distrust engenders. With this realization, the center has begun to train community people to act as patient advocates who will go into neighborhoods, educate, relate to people's problems directly so that people will relate to and identify with the services available to them.

Always a But

But (and there always seem to be a but) O.E.O. will be going out of business next year when it is taken over by the department of Health Education and Welfare. Funds for Hough-Norwood are up in the air despite the $2 million they just received to build a second center. The direction of these funds will be determined by the Metropolitan Health Planning Corp, (a bureaucratic organization funded 50% by the O.E.O. and 50% by the city and county governments of Cuyahoge, Geauga, Lake, and Medina Counties, and by Blue Cross, the Welfare Federation, etc.) which after two years in existence has actually found two community people to sit on a board of about 35. The planning corp plans to establish a "health network," which would be an umbrella corporation and the ultimate funding determinant for a number of local "health corporations" and neighborhood centers which would then provide comprehensive, pre-paid (by welfare, charity, or National Health Insurance) health services. The boards of the umbrella corporation and of the local centers would consist of 1/3 poverty level people, and at least 1/2 consumers of health care.

The reality of this "beautiful dream" is that several naive men at Metropolitan Health Planning contacted at random about 70 inner-city groups to attend marathon meetings with "professional representatives" of the poor from O.E.O. type groups with a scattering of representation from groups such as the West Side Citizens for Better Health (a real citizens group). These people met with a group of third level bureaucrats from big hospitals and health care institutuions, and are presently setting up a board to bid for 17 of the (only) 30 million dollars that the federal government has set aside for all such projects in the entire nation.

The obvious questions are: will these "community representatives" do any more than seek power and money for themselves or will they go back and really try to talk to people in their communities? Will they be able to acquire sophistication in health issues? And most of all, if the funds really come through, will the large institutions really cooperate and if they do will they together with government strings on the funds, find a way to co-opt the entire plan anyway? After these questions are answered, the issues of staffing the centers, and whether or not communities develop trust in them must be considered.

On the opposite end of the social world from the various government agencies, economic and social power elites, and others who are fighting to control and create their own "social good" are the people who are controlled. As is obvious from the example of Hough-Norwood, O.E.O. centers and other such "well-meaning" institutions, the best facilities and program cannot succeed unless people participate and identify with them. People do not identify with being controlled.

West Side Citizens for Better Health

There are some efforts underway around Cleveland, by people trying to organize and demand the services they know are crucial and that they know will not come from anywhere else.

The best single example is the West Side Citizens for Better Health who were helped in organizing first by the very SDS people whose frustration turned them into Weathermen, and then by the Student Health Organization. They finally convinced the city to build a clinic for their use, but the city will not let them run it and it sits empty. With the help of Tom Fuller, a medical student on leave of absence, and some social work people, now living on the West Side, the group incorporated last year and submitted a proposal to the Federal government. The government termed the proposal excellent but said that there was no money-or did they just not want a community controlled and initiated project successfully in operation? Finally after recruiting local doctors, nurses, medical students, volunteers to be trained as aids and advocates, and other physical resources, they opened a clinic two nights a week in a church basement. The only hospital to cooperate with them is Lutheran whose community relations man acts as a patient advocate for the clinic. It can hardly hope to provide good health care, but it shows a seriousness and determination that will be a large force within the neighborhood in the struggle for decent health care.

The West Side Citizens for Better Health are the fed-up governmentally, institutionally screwed community of the Tremont and West Side of Cleveland.

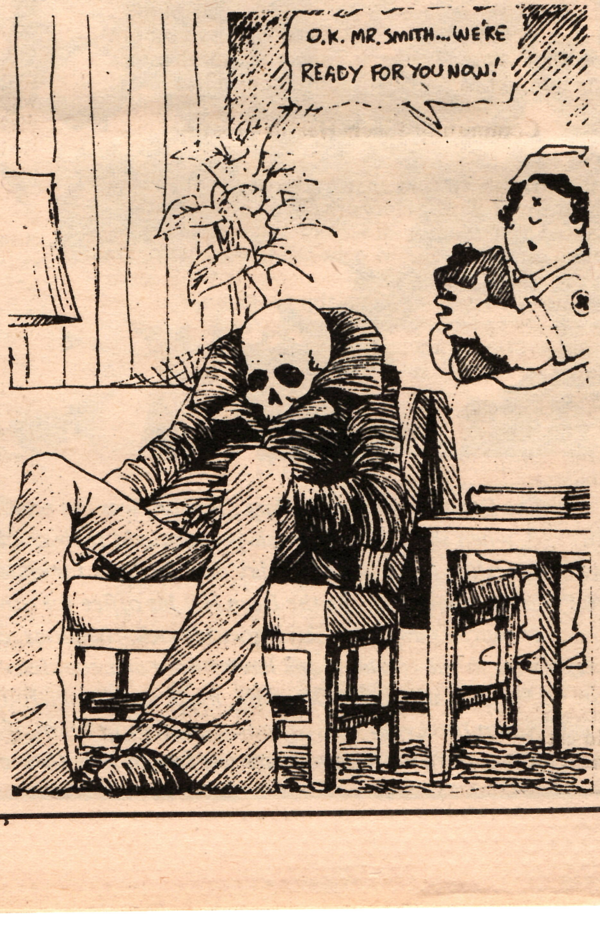
The Need and Assumptions They Make

If you are not poor, if you are not low-income, if you are not working class and medically indigent, then you may not be aware of the great lack of medical services available to many Tremont and Near West Side residents of this city. Not only that, but those that are available are difficult to obtain due to inaccessibility, over-charging, and long waits. While it is true that our poorest neighbors can get some kind of medical care–they won't get quality health care, and they won't get preventive health care which is the best of quality care.

Why? Assumption one: The institutions are not accountable to our community. If the institutions that give health care are not accountable to the people of our community, then how are we to ever have quality health care? Accept what we have and be thankful? Wait for the government to change its war priorities to human priorities?

Assumption two: The resources put into our community will have to be greatly increased if we are to have top quality health care. The present city health budget is about 3 million per year for *all* of the city. We think that our area *alone* needs 7 to 10 million.

Assumption three: The citizens of our area must maintain some kind of cooperative unity in their search for better health care. Why? Because there are many un-accountable institutions (include government bodies) which would seek to fragment our community in its struggle to regain the traditional American dignity of self-control. Nowhere is the principle of divide and conquer more true than in our community.


O.K. MR. SMITH...WE'RE READY FOR YOU NOW!

The Institutions The Poor

Assumption four: That the concept of community is a legitimate and real one, even in this day and age, and we define it as the "general best interest of the majority of the residents."

We base our struggle upon those assumptions.

As to Assumption one: we cannot wait for the government or the institutions to change. We seek to build alternatives all the while knowing that we can not give top quality care. A free clinic cannot do that.

As to Assumption two: we must struggle for resources from any and all sources. We must accept all resources as long as those sources do not violate the principle of self-governing integrity.

The principle of self-governing integrity is not negotiable. That is the mistake our forefathers have made in slowly turning over the vital needs of our people to special interest groups. There is only one legitimate group—the broad based community group. If we go back in our history we see that the people provided for themselves. But slowly life was allowed to become more specialized (probably in the name of efficiency) work was turned over to specialists—the specialists became professionals—the professionals moved out of the community they served—and finally the interests of the professional's community became removed from the client's community.

We need the help of the professional—but we must have control over his interest where it is at odds with the general interests of our re-emerging sense of community. But beyond that we seek to demystify the myth of the professional savior elite and to develop from and with the people their own sense of self-worth through the development of the people's latent knowledge and skills.

In short, we mean to take knowledge from the heads of the professionals and put it in the heads of the people. There is to be no corner on knowledge, i.e., Power. That also means we will not be content to replace the outside professional with an inside new made "professional."

The Health Struggle

The city of Cleveland has built a new Health Building (over $1 million) at West 44th and Lorain Avenue in the near West Side. The city does not have the money to put real health services into that building, so they plan to put little pieces of existing "services" (visiting nurses, TB clinic, a doctor, a nurse) in there and call it "health care for the people." Of course, it's political hanky panky—the whole business of spending little or no money in a *fragmented* and *centralized* way. All to be done in a gaudy, showy (councilmen-women, mayor's stand before the tv's and gab about the politicians' doing something for the people) building so as to do a snow job on us poor ignorant voters. How else will we know we're getting our tax money back and, thus, go on to blindly support these government hacks again? (To further clarify the importance of this health center our present mayor was put into office by a thin margin of voters in wards 8 and 7 of the near West Side). So there is tremendous pressure on the city health dept. to get that now empty million dollar structure open.

Locked Out Community

A symbol we have frequently used to describe ourselves (the powerless) in relation to the Health Services Establishment is that of a community ringed-in by a series of private and governmental establishments, all of whom have locked arms and will not allow us entrance *except on their terms.*

In the past those terms have meant no accountability to our community and lack of quality comprehensive health care. Terms no longer acceptable to a growing number of people in our community.

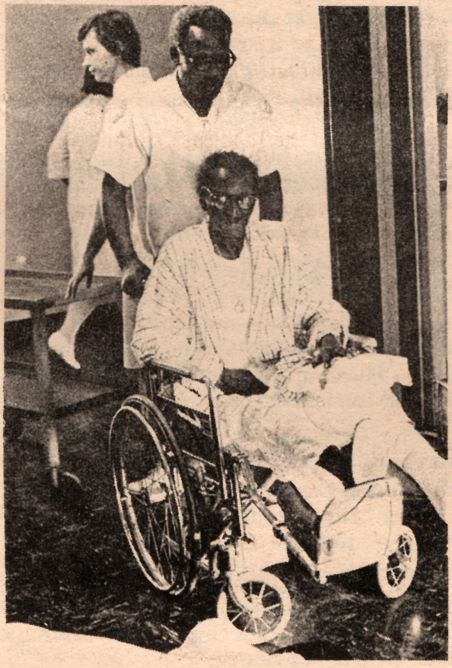
Community Elects Health Trustees

In the struggle to find answers to our problems an ad hoc group of West Siders organized an election, and elected a 36 member board of trustees which has developed on paper, a comprehensive top quality free health care plan, which when implemented will serve a target area of 70,000 people. The total cost per year of this ambitious plan is $7 million. A dream? Yes, but it is what is needed and we mean to implement this plan one way or another, sooner or later.

The crux of this citizen's plan is COMMUNITY CONTROL through a broad based representative community elected board of trustees who are directly accountable to their neighbors. At present, this board exists, meets regularly and is going through the growing pains of developing board skills. However, internal problems are the least of the problems they are confronted with for many outside pressures exist. Not the least of which is a co-optation offer from Dr. Ellis, who is the head of the city health commission. Ellis wants this citizens' board to be not a Board of Trustees, with real power, but a Board of Advisors without real power over the new building. This thrust by Ellis and the establishment, may at least split the community (an old establishment strategy) if not get the city off the hook on the question of citizens' participation.

Another iron in this fire is THE councilwoman who wants to have control over the new building herself (along with her colleagues). Of course, there are going to be jobs available in that building, always an important political tool, for the maintenance of control, but she claims the reason she doesn't believe in community control is not that, but because anything as vital as community health must be run by professionals. We told her that all the boards on all the big hospitals were not health professionals but such common folk as bankers, industrialists, merchants, etc., not one of whom is allowed to practice medicine in Ohio. She insults people every time she opens her mouth.

The pressures remain and the board's dilemma between the easy way to prestige through Ellis' co-optation offer versus legitimacy, endurance and the will to struggle. Questions for this Board: Will it be able to maintain its independence, its integrity? Will it remain legitimate to the community? Will it endure? Will it struggle for power?



Free Clinics as a Form of Right Practice

What is right about a Free Clinic, and what are the obstacles?

The everlasting failure of middle class leftism in this country is the failure to bring it down home, down to the nitty gritty of practice. Talk without practice is nothing but middle class rhetoric or lower class bullshit. Take your choice. In short, it might be wise to only talk out of the practice as opposed to talk out of the talk.

Practice is all. The people are not fools and they will no more listen to the rhetoric of the left then they will listen to the rhetoric of politicians. The real question is what practice? Find the right practice and you will find the people. Free clinics as they function in each of the following categories are a form of right practice.

Service: This is where the people are. It is assumed that those in the greatest need will be the first to respond to new non-paternalistic forms of self service and decision-making.

Accountability: This reverts to our assumption that the health system does not serve us adequately because we had no power over the policies and service of the system. Whatever we develop shall be accountable to both the client and the workers.

Communication: Many people coming from the campus have good ideas but are unable to get them down on the table. There has been much talk among such people about getting power not for themselves as a student group but for the powerless in society so that ordinary people might begin to influence the controlling factors of their lives. The need to distribute power among the people is a difficult one to put into practice. The Free Clinic is an opportunity for the people of the community to begin to develop in the ways of power and service. Sessions and meetings to discuss the actual practice of the clinic and to make future policies based on that practice offer one of the very few opportunities for those trained in the school of hard knocks to sit down with those trained in abstract ideas and really communicate as equals. We see thus that the Free Clinic is an opportunity towards the removal of race, class and professional barriers in working toward a common goal.

Removal of elitist tendencies is also high on the list of priorities of what must be done. These include both the trained in feelings of superiority and of inferiority that often accompany the lower class milieu. To prevent the alienation of much help which could come from persons from the middle class in good non-paternalistic ways, the lower class must rid itself of the characteristically lower class inferiority defense mechanisms of constantly attacking individuals of the middle class as persons.

New Roles: Patient Advocates

The patient advocate is one who is close to the community who acts as a kind of interpreter, scout, and fighter with the patient for his/her right to the best health care existing. It is best that this new role be a community person. It cannot be done by anyone who is tuned out to the needs of others. It can be done by anyone who has rid themselves of elitist and paternalistic tendencies and who is genuinely concerned with health as part of the larger problem in our society. The patient advocate can go further than just taking the load off trained doctors and nurses through getting into the area of bringing medical knowledge into our everyday consciousness.

Actual specifics of advocates at this time include greeting the patients after they arrive at the clinic, taking histories, temperatures, weights, other necessary tests, and then preparing patients for the examining room consultation with the doctor. After the examination, the advocates sit with the nurse and the patient to discuss the patient's health and follow through instructions. The advocate must make this discussion understandable to the patient. The advocate must then see to it that the follow-up, no matter how complicated or difficult, is given with dignity to that patient. This may mean a protracted fight with some medical institution. which has the capability to provide the service but not the accountability.

And last, the clinic is a real thing in a building, on a corner, beneath a roof, where people come and go, and recognize their own power.

The Free Clinic—East Side

The Free Clinic (2039) Cornell Road) is opened 6–9 p.m. Monday through Friday and 4–6 p.m. on Saturday to provide medical care to those who cannot afford it or who have been alienated by other medical facilities. Professional people include doctors, nurses, dentists, psychiatrists, and psychologists. Public health problems such as Venereal Disease and hepatitis are treated confidentially as are other medical problems.

The clinic was opened June 1, 1970 to treat drug related problems medically and psychologically and now treats general health problems. One service associated with the clinic—the Together Telephone Line is opened 24 hours a day to answer questions about drugs to give help and/or refer people to where they can receive help. The Together phone number is 721-1115.

Planned Parenthood

The availability of birth control information and devices is an important factor in freeing women from unwanted maternity. Lack of information and lack of low-cost, easily available, dependable contraceptives have long prevented women from having maximum control over their lives.

In the early part of this century, women such as Margaret Sanger led a determined struggle to provide women with birth control information; despite many obstacles such as having birth control literature banned as obscene with prison sentences as punishment, this fight succeeded to the extent that today, there are various agencies such as Planned Parenthood providing low cost, reliable health care, and contraceptive devices.

Planned Parenthood is a non-profit volunteer agency (not supported by United Appeal). The costs are minimal, sometimes service is free, and is always less costly than a private physician. The cost is determined by your income and number of individuals in your family.

Funding comes from individual contributions, private grants and fundraising activities.

Planned Parenthood offers all approved birth control methods including I.U.D.'s to all women regardless of marital status. Women under 18 must have parental approval.

Service may be received at the main office, 2027 Cornell Road, 721-4700, the West Side branch, 6516 Detroit Avenue, 631-7676, the East Side branch, 2500 E. 35th street, 361-2280. The mobile unit stops at various points around the city-times and locations are available at the Cornell Road main office.

by Henry Bloom, Bob Smitty, Jill Heiman, Bill West, Larry Levner

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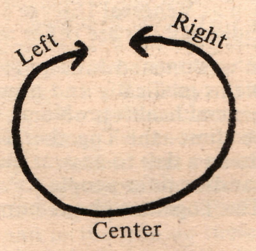
Radical Rhetoric

LEFT and RIGHT: Have you ever thought about why we call certain political beliefs Left, others Right, still others Center?

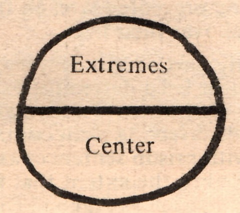
A simple answer is that since the French Revolution when the more radical, egalitarian delegates sat on the left in the National Assembly chambers, the direction Left has been associated with "radicals," Right with "conservatives."

But this, as we've said, is only a superficial response. Because there's much more involved. For instance, visualizing political beliefs on a straight line, so to speak (from left to right), indicates that the extremes of the line have little in common.

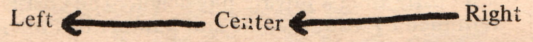
Many American "establishment" political scientists don't want us to accept this common sense "straight line" way of looking at the range of political choices. Instead, they try to say that far Left (i.e., Socialism) and far Right (i.e., Nazism) are practically identical. (Thus, Mao Tse-Tung and Adolf Hitler are lumped together as fellow "totalitarians" and the matter is dropped.) In their scheme, the political spectrum becomes a curious circle.



What's wrong with this "circle theory?" Well, if we assume it is true, we would have a very difficult time talking about politics at all, since what we end up with this "circle theory" is actually not a gradual spectrum at all, but a simple division between GOOD and BAD (i.e., the GOOD middle, the BAD extremes).



This is a clever trick indeed, for it means that good-old-middle-of-the-road-garden-variety capitalism American-style is the only place for a "reasonable, responsible" man to be. And, this is what is taught us in our high schools and our colleges. (Guess who writes the textbooks we use?)



It's no accident that this is precisely the simplistic, mindless terms with which American industry seeks to indoctrinate us to buy one underarm deodorant as opposed to another. Or as L.B.J. sought to indoctrinate we the public to save the American Homeland from "those yellow dwarves over there."

You can't cover up realities which effect the living and dying of billions of individuals as easily as you can sell a deodorant, however.

There *is* a distinct, *radical* difference between Left and Right. The political Left historically and still today fights for a human society based on egalitarian, communal principles. It seeks to break down the class, racial, and caste divisions which box in and degrade men and women. And, it begins to build feasible alternatives to the alienating, endlessly competitive society which has been built up around the "free enterprise" economic system.

The Right, of whatever variety or intensity, whether it is represented by Richard Nixon, by Chiang Kai-Shek, or at its most horrible extreme, by Adolf Hitler, seeks none of these goals and dreams none of these dreams– as the Indochina War has shown us so graphically.

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Cleveland Tenants Union

Operating without funds, the Cleveland Tenants Organization (CTO) has been working for the past four years toward better housing conditions, by trying to apply pressure on landlords, the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority, and on the city government.

The organization, part of the National Tenants Organization, has over 500 members identifying with it but very few active people.

Funding sought from the Federal, County, and City governments has been denied and the CTO is now seeking money from various foundations. CTO Chairman, Mrs. George is of the opinion that there is too much of a "conflict of interest" between her group and the government for such money to be forthcoming yet she maintains hope that an institution such as the Rockefeller Foundation will not have such conflicts and will allocate money.

Thus far the CTO has been successful in keeping its members from being evicted before they have a place to move, but hasn't had much of an effect on the overall housing picture in Cleveland. The CTO tries to organize tenants around their rights and helps get cases through court.

Mrs. George expressed the need to oppose landlords and management companies through agreements signed by landlords and tenants - listing violations and other complaints to be taken care of by the landlord. The courts allow rent to be withheld in a special fund until the agreement has been met.

Mrs. George sees additional public housing units as the only way to solve many of the city's problems but doesn't really expect any new housing in the near future. She cited the need for more activity and pressure to meet this end.

It is CTO philosophy to "build within and change the system at the same time." Change is needed, but people don't always have a choice about what to do, Mrs. George concluded.

Community tenant unions represent a potentially powerful social, political, and economic organizing force. They enable people to unite around issues important to their daily lives and to struggle against existing forms of ownership and exploitation.

Rent strikes, one tactic of tenant unions involve economic matters which hurt landlords the most. A well organized and supported rent strike can build committment, understanding of this socio-economic system and be effective against immediate enemies- exploitative landlords and city government.

People must become aware that neither the government, nor the corporate foundations, nor the landlords, will pay for something that is not in their own interests. Even an organization willing to "build within" such as the CTO is having difficulty in getting funds.

This concept of "building within the system," is often the antithesis of change – that is, the securing of small reforms or promises which delude people into supporting their enemies and prevent them from winning meaningful gains.

CWRU Workers

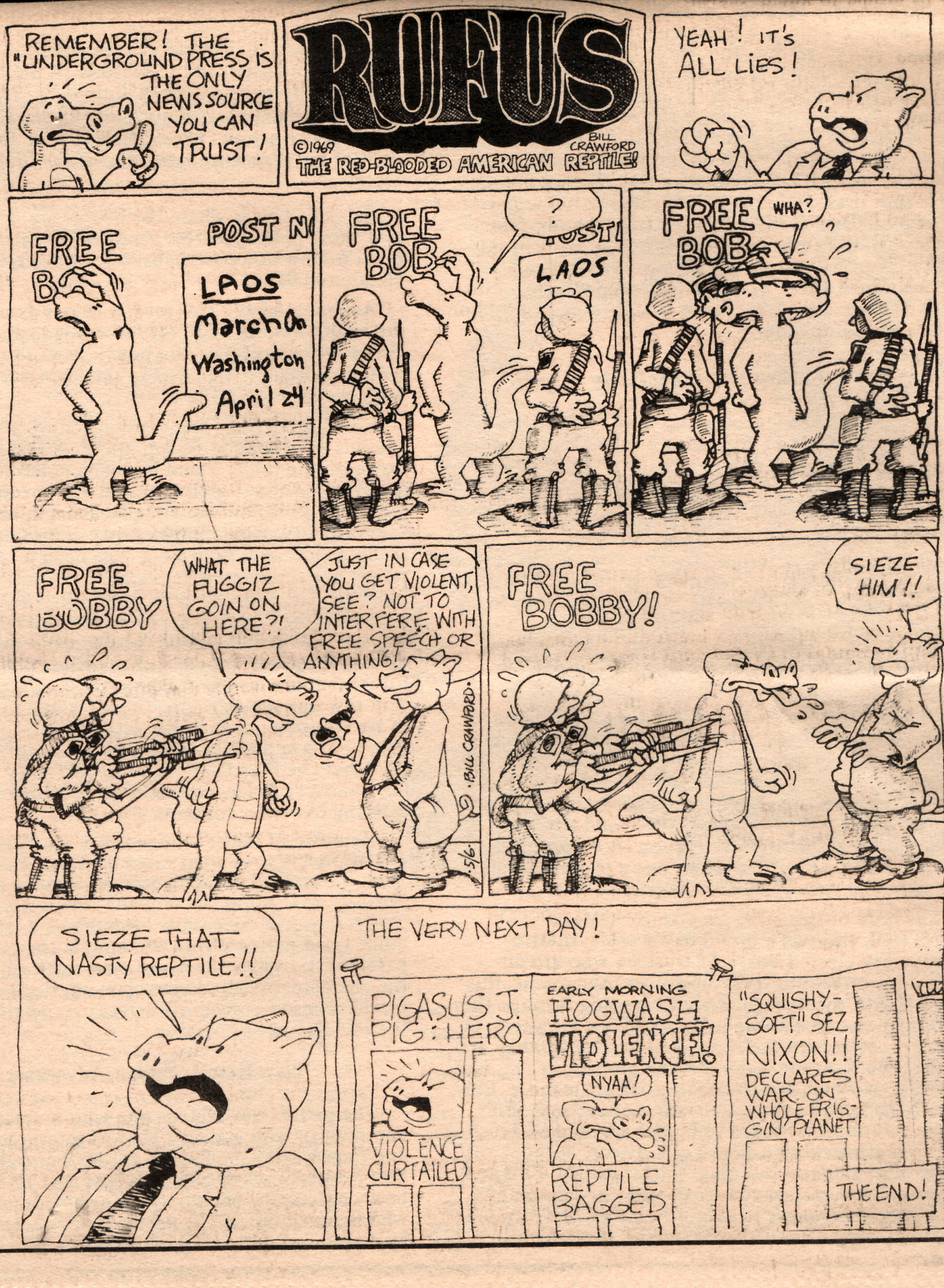
CWRU maintenance and service workers and the National Union of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees, 1199H, which seeks to represent these workers, won an important victory the other day. The National Labor Relations Board ordered CWRU to hold new elections among its workers to determine if these workers want 1199H to be their bargaining agent.

During a previous election in January, the recorded vote was 160 to 136 against the union. However, the union filed charges of unfair labor practices with the NLRB, citing evidence of harrassment and intimidation by the university. At the time, CWRU denied these charges.

The NLRB, however, ruled in favor of the workers' complaint and ordered new elections, which will be held on April 16. The student government of CWRU has voted to support the organizing campaign of the maintenance and service workers.

During the previous election, the administration of CWRU secured the services of a public relations firm, which specializes in anti-union activity. It appears that a similar campaign is being mounted by the administration this time, also; workers have been receiving letters from the University *strongly urging* them not to vote for union representation.

What is interesting in this connection is the single-minded determination of the University to keep its employees from organizing for job protection. Is this the sacred doctrine of academic neutrality before whose altar these administrators so piously genuflect? Doesn't this anti-labor policy reflect the composition and interests of the trustees, many of whom sit on the boards of Cleveland's multi-billion dollar corporations and banks?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